Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-208
Monday
28 October 1991

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-208 *28 October 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Foreign Minister Comments on Mideast Peace Talks *[ATA]* 1
Paper Views Mitsotakis 'Anti-Albanian' Statement *[ATA]* 1
Prime Minister Bufi Discusses Government's Work *[ATA]* 1
Government Visits Puke, Fails To Settle Strike *[Tirana Radio]* 2
'All-Albanian Assembly' Summoned for 28 Nov *[Tirana Radio]* 2

BULGARIA

Soviets Blamed for Failure of Presidents To Meet *[BTA]* 4
Zhelev Meeting With UK, U.S. Envoys Denied *[BTA]* 4
Britain Rejects Allegations *[BTA]* 4
Foreign Ministry Protests *[BTA]* 4
Serb Claims of Bulgarian Hostile Plans Rebutted *[BTA]* 5
Finance Minister Kostov Departs for Switzerland *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Kostov Comments on New Cabinet Composition *[BTA]* 5
New National Assembly To Convene 4 Nov *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Lilov Says Consensus Reigned at BSP Plenum *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Lilov: 'No Sensations' Expected at BSP Congress *[BTA]* 6
BZNS-United Permanent Board Resigns *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Bulgarian Democratic Center Established *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Podkrepa Official Expelled; Congress Called *[BTA]* 7
Role of Trade Unions in Elections Assessed *[DEMOKRATSIYA 21 Oct]* 7
Minister Expresses Doubts on Economic Prospects *[BTA]* 8
Statistics Show Increase in Food Expenditures *[BTA]* 9
Kozloduy 6th Reactor Reaches 75% Capacity *[Sofia Radio]* 9

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Addresses U.S. Audience on Economy *[Prague Radio]* 10
OH Claims Slovakia Could Jeopardize EC Accord *[CSTK]* 10
Constitutional Talks in Stirin Assessed *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 24 Oct]* 11
Calfa Interviewed *[Prague TV]* 12
Pithart Comments *[Bratislava PRAVDA 24 Oct]* 13
Miklosko Views Talks *[Prague Radio]* 14
Moravian Silesian Chairman on Allied Parties *[RUDE PRAVO 14 Oct]* 14
Poll Shows Disillusionment With Slovak Parties *[SMENA 23 Oct]* 15
Bratislava Commodity Exchange Registered *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 17 Oct]* 15

HUNGARY

Serbia's Jovanovic Issues Statement After Talks *[TANJUG]* 16
Entz on Talks, Minority Issues *[Budapest TV]* 16
No Possibility of Conflict Seen *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Yugoslavia Blocks Border Crossing at Roszke *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Economic Ties With Slovenia To Be Strengthened *[MAGYAR NEMZET 24 Oct]* 17
Condemnation of 1956 Events May Affect Compensation *[Budapest TV]* 17
Bilateral Military Agreement Signed With Austria *[MTI]* 18
More Regional Agreements Planned *[MTI]* 18
Antall Previews Visit to NATO, EC Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 18
Army Wants To Purchase Arms From Germany *[MTI]* 19
Stricter Measures on Foreign Labor Take Effect *[NEPSZABADSAG 24 Oct]* 19

POLAND

Walesa Issues Statement On Election Eve *[PAP]* 20
Bielecki on State of Country Prior to Elections *[PAP]* 20
Election Commission Expects Returns by 30 Oct *[PAP]* 20
Candidates View Possible Post-Election Coalitions *[PAP]* 21
Center Alliance's Kaczynski Views Election Issues *[GLOS PORANNY 19-20 Oct]* 22
Reportage on 27 Oct Parliamentary Election Results 24
Democratic Union Projected Winner *[PAP]* 24
Democratic Union Leaders Comment *[Warsaw TV]* 25
Walesa, Leaders View Forecasts *[PAP]* 25
Presidential Spokesman on Vote *[Warsaw Radio]* 26
PAP Updates Projections 26
28 Oct Projections Reported *[Warsaw Radio]* 27
Worldwide Voter Turnout Viewed *[PAP]* 27
Troop Withdrawal Treaty Initialed in Moscow *[Warsaw Radio]* 28
Makarczyk: Soviet Coup Helped Troop Withdrawal *[PAP]* 28
Lithuanian Prime Minister: No Cause for Tensions *[PAP]* 28

ROMANIA

Stolojan Promises Elections Before Year's End *[AFP]* 29
Covasna-Harghita Commission Responds to Charges *[ROMPRES]* 29
UDMR Statement on 17 Oct Parliament Debate *[ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO 23 Oct]* 30
Ethnic Leader Sees Himself as Campaign Target *[168 ORA 22 Oct]* 31
Campeanu on PNL Participation in Government *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 23 Oct]* 32
PSD Leader Views Center-Left Political Scene *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 22 Oct]* 33
Nastase Previews Trip to Moldova, Korea *[ROMPRES]* 34

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Third Plenary Session of Hague Conference Opens *[TANJUG]* 35
Milosevic: 'No New Ideas' in EC Document *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
Milosovic Addresses Hague Conference *[TANJUG]* 35
Milosevic Rejects Territorial Pretensions *[Sarajevo Radio]* 36
Mesic: Talks 'Futile' Without EC Action *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Ethnic Group 'Special Status' Rejected *[TANJUG]* 37
Session Ends; Conference To Continue *[TANJUG]* 37
Press Comments on Outcome *[TANJUG]* 37
Milosevic Assures Tudjman of Peace Efforts *[TANJUG]* 38
Kadijevic Letter to Carrington Rejects Accusations *[TANJUG]* 38
Croatian Foreign Minister Sends Proposal to EC *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
U.S. Said Exposing Europe's Weakness in Balkans *[TANJUG]* 39
Serbian Opposition's Draskovic on Moscow Visit *[TANJUG]* 39
Russia's Rutskoy To Visit Serbia, Macedonia *[TANJUG]* 40
Protest to Poland Over Slovene Passport Recognition *[TANJUG]* 40
TANJUG Notes Austria's 'Offensive' Neutrality 40
Air Force Command Confirms Plane Landed in Austria *[TANJUG]* 41
Pilot's Extradition, Plane Sought *[TANJUG]* 41
Mesic Asks Austria Not To Return Plane *[Zagreb Radio]* 41
Yugoslavs 'Secretly Transferring' Assets to Hungary *[AFP]* 41

Federal

Defense Official Opposes Foreign Armed Intervention *[Belgrade TV]* 42
Montenegro, Croatia Discuss Border Dispute *[Belgrade TV]* 42

Slovenia

Rupel Reaffirms Positions on Hague Conference *[Ljubljana Radio]* 42
Kucan on Hague Conference: 'Not Much of a Success' *[TANJUG]* 43
Last Yugoslav People's Army Soldier Leaves *[TANJUG]* 43
Kucan Officially Proclaims Freedom *[Ljubljana Radio]* 43
Republic Celebrates Army's Departure *[TANJUG]* 44
Payments Agreements Offered to Macedonia, Bosnia *[Ljubljana Radio]* 44
Rupel Interviewed on Political Future *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Oct]* 44
Assembly Debates Law on Privatization, Citizenship *[Ljubljana Radio]* 46
Maribor Industries Face Production Downturns *[TANJUG]* 46

Croatia

Tudjman Comments on Latest Hague Consultations *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
Daily: 'Shadow Cabinet' To Be Formed in Croatia *[TANJUG]* 47
Army Demands Dubrovnik Paramilitary Surrender *[TANJUG]* 47
Croatia Rejects 'Ultimatum' *[Zagreb Radio]* 48
Dubrovnik Refers Peace Plan to Zagreb *[TANJUG]* 48
Announcement on Return to Dubrovnik Convoy *[Zagreb Radio]* 48
Vice Premier Says Delegation To Visit Dubrovnik *[Zagreb Radio]* 48
Army Remains in Control of Dubrovnik Approaches *[TANJUG]* 49
Croatians Open Fire on EC Monitors in Dubrovnik *[TANJUG]* 49
YPA Captures Tordinci Village North of Vinkovci *[TANJUG]* 49
Blockade of Ploce Port on Adriatic Ends *[TANJUG]* 50
Roundup of Clashes in Vukovar, Dubrovnik, Slavonia *[TANJUG]* 50
Government Discusses War Situation, Media's Role *[Zagreb Radio]* 50
Paper Reports 'Purges' in Croatian TV *[TANJUG]* 50
Croatian Radio, TV Director on Programs, Staffing *[Zagreb TV]* 51
Krajina Announces 'General, Total' Mobilization *[Belgrade Radio]* 51
Krajina Supports SFRY Presidency *[TANJUG]* 52
Ex-Deputy Interior Minister Allegedly Arrested *[TANJUG]* 52

Serbia

Sandzak Referendum on Autonomy Begins 25 Oct *[TANJUG]* 52
Correspondent's Report From Novi Pazar *[Belgrade Radio]* 52
Serbia Bans Sandzak Referendum *[TANJUG]* 53
News Conference on Closing of Polls *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
Final Results Expected 30 Oct *[Belgrade Radio]* 54
Serbian Parties Comment on Referendum *[TANJUG]* 54
Referendum 'Historic Act for Muslims' *[Belgrade Radio]* 55
Democratic League Official on Kosovo Republic *[ATA]* 55
Belgrade Comments on 'Imaginary' State of Kosovo *[Belgrade Radio]* 56

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Comments on Hague Conference Outcome *[TANJUG]* 56
Foreign Minister Interviewed on War, EC Proposal
[Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG 26 Oct] 57
Authorities Confiscate Bijelo Polje Election Forms *[TANJUG]* 57

Montenegro

Assembly Upholds Republic's Hague Stand *[TANJUG]* 57
Montenegrin Muslims Ignore Sandzak Referendum *[Belgrade Radio]* 58

Macedonia

Gligorov Agrees 'In Principle' With Hague Accord *[TANJUG]* 58
Army Recruits Asked Not To Respond to Callup *[TANJUG]* 58

Foreign Minister Comments on Mideast Peace Talks

AU2610174791 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 26 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs Muhamet Kapllani made the following statement to the ATA correspondent: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania hails the peace conference on the Middle East to be held in Madrid on October 30. It values the readiness now voiced by all the participating parties to go to the conference and wishes that the good will and the spirit of dialogue and understanding dominate in its proceedings.

The peace conference on the Middle East is an important step and a good chance to put into motion the mechanism of talks on establishing peace in the region. This arouses hopes that even the longest local conflict since the Second World War will take the way of solution. The crisis in the Middle East is as difficult as complicated, full of conflicts and enmities during whole decades. Nevertheless, through political realism and taking into consideration the interests of all the peoples living in the region, the key to solution may be found.

We are convinced that the process of peace and talks on the Middle East will finally take the right road, tesifying that the spirit of solution to the conflicts through peaceful means and negotiations is being felt in this difficult region as well, something which is to the benefit of both the peoples of the Middle East, and the entire international community.

Paper Views Mitsotakis 'Anti-Albanian' Statement

AU2510184091 Tirana ATA in English 1104 GMT 25 Oct 91

["Who Wants Good Neighbourliness Works For It"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (ATA)—The newspaper "LUFTETARI", central organ of the Ministry of Defence carries an article under the above title which stresses among others that both the Albanian people and the Greek one think, want and work so that the relations between them respond to the new times, to the contemporary concepts, so that these relations be good and the borders quiet and stable.

But ,"LUFTETARI" stresses, the desire of the peoples for peace are sometimes followed by statements and actions which do not serve the good aims of our two peoples and throw doubt on the assertions for friendship. On this occasion the newspaper mentions the statement of [Greek Prime Minister] Mitsotakis during his visit on October 19-20, in Ioannina and the border point of Kakavija. He considered a danger "the arch of Moslem religion". In the meantime with regard to the [word indistinct] question he said that "it does not exist or exists in set moments outside Greece". This statement seems a paradox, when it is known that history is more ancient than politics.

In the border point of Kakavija Mr. Mitsotakis described the 8th Infantry Division of Ioannina "a legendary division of Vorioepirus which over the Second World War manifested brilliant examples of heroism in the war against Italy". The message of this evaluation for the men who represent the force of [word indistinct] is rather clear, the newspaper "LUFTETARI" stresses. We hope such statements have not to do with the anti-Albanian inclinations, but be a mere lapse.

Such a statement is made at a time when the Greek command continues to maintain on the alert the military forces in the vicinity of the border regions with Albania in the context of the manoeuvres "Parmenion-91". The Greek staff knows the aims of these manoeuvres but we would like to stress that the Albanians have always wanted and want that the border with all the neighbouring states be a border of peace and friendship. It is high time that the peoples of our two countries be side by side and not confront each other.

Prime Minister Bufi Discusses Government's Work

AU2710142091 Tirana ATA in English 0902 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 27 (ATA)—Premier Ylli Bufi granted an interview to the newspaper "ZERI I RINISE" stressing that our country is experiencing a profound economic and social crisis. It is the time when the structures of the old system do not function and when new structures have not yet been set up.

Concerning the main results of the Government of Stability over the four months of its work, Premier Ylli Bufi stresses that during this time a voluminous work has been carried out concerning the commitment of the government in many important problems in the field of economy, finances, justice, education, organs of order and the Army, countryside, trade, etc.

One of the main tasks of the government has been the drafting of a new legislation. During this period there have been endorsed dozens of legal and sub-legal acts. The laws have been accompanied by many useful decisions. Referring to statistics I may say that the government has endorsed every day more than two decisions.

Further on Ylli Bufi said that during this period one of the delicate tasks of the government has been the stabilization of the life of the country and the preparation of the reform. There is no stability without reform and during these last four months the government has worked to this end. The program and the first package of laws for launching the reform were discussed and endorsed by the People's Assembly. This is the most important moment of the work of the government, which will define the stabilization of the country and its development on the road to market economy.

Government Visits Puke, Fails To Settle Strike

AU2710203991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Report by Rrok Lencaj]

[Text] The general strike in Puke District is still continuing and entered its 11th day today. Genc Ruli, minister of finance; Nexhmedin Dumani, minister of agriculture; Leontiev Cuci, secretary of state for the economy; and (?Alotin) Kodra, deputy minister of mining resources and energy, came to Puke on 26 October to meet and hold talks with the Independent Trade Unions and the Strike Committee. Pjeter Dema, chairman of the Pluralist District Executive Committee, was also present.

At the start of the meeting, Binak Selimi, chairman of the Strike Committee, demanded from the government group that the workers be paid for all of the days of the strike and that the strike organizers suffer no consequences. Genc Ruli replied that strike pay was under the authority of the People's Assembly, not the government group, but that there will be no consequences for the strike organizers.

Thus, the debate about the protests of the Puke independent trade unionists began. We realize, the government group said, that the roof of Puke leaks more than that of any other district in the present economic situation. However, everything will be solved within the law, the budgetary resources of our economy today, and the new reform we are undertaking.

Sami Kariqi, chairman of the Independent Trade Union of Miners and Geologists, said that he had lived through all these days of the strike together with the workers and peasants of Puke and had seen for himself the poverty of their families, many of whom have no leks even to buy bread. About 3,000 families, having no leks, receive bread according to lists. I have never seen such poverty in any other district. The government must therefore do everything to improve the district's economic situation and workers' living and working conditions.

Gjon Leka, chairman of the Copper Processors Independent Trade Union then said that they had never halted production despite extremely difficult working and living conditions. We did not burn, destroy, or break a single pane of glass, so as not to harm democracy but to give it time. We did this because we trusted that the government would one day cast its eyes toward Puke. However, what we thought would happen never did.

Viktor Kola, chairman of the district's Independent Trade Unions, told the government group that they had asked to talk to Prime Minister Ylli Bufi or one of his deputies about our grievances. However, despite all of the promises, not a single representative came. We sent these demands in a petition to the government on 17 May. These demands were judged to be fair. Not a single point on this petition has yet been solved.

The meeting then continued to discuss the demands of the district's strikers one by one. Regarding the first demand, that Puke should be declared a free zone with total economic independence, the government group said that conditions for this have not yet been created in any district. This was agreed.

The ministers promised to grant some credits and undertook to solve certain demands on the petition about the investment of foreign capital and the introduction of new equipment and technology that will increase productivity and workers' wages. However, they failed to agree on a 30-percent wage increase for the district's workers. The trade unionists and the Strike Committee insisted absolutely on this demand because the district's workers labor under extremely serious climatic conditions, with seven months of winter. Finance Minister Genc Ruli opposed this demand because of the lack of budgetary funds and refused to attempt to solve it. At this point, the meeting was interrupted without discussion of the other demands, and the Strike Committee told the government group that the general strike in Puke will continue until their fair demands are met.

'All-Albanian Assembly' Summoned for 28 Nov

AU2710203591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] The problem of all-national conciliation and unification has been extremely topical for some time. It has become synthesized in the programs of all political parties and has found comprehensive support among the Albanian public within Albania, in Kosovo, and in the entire Albanian diaspora. In this context, a group of about 70 intellectuals working in various fields has turned to the public with an appeal that stresses among other things:

1. An all-Albanian assembly is to be held in Tirana on 28 November [national day].

2. The purpose of this assembly's proceedings will be national conciliation and unification, which are the most acute problems of the times for the interests of the country and of all Albanians, their present, and their future.

The modern age calls for an up-to-date national conciliation of the kind achieved by many other peoples and countries. Because it is an indispensable condition for the unification of all Albanians within and beyond Albania, conciliation does not exclude but, on the contrary, presupposes the existence of political pluralism, diversity of opinions, debate and argument, and rivalries among political parties. It must exclude only one thing: violence in the management and solution of social and political problems.

We are divided into political parties, in our ideas and views, in our programs, and in our different religious beliefs, but we share the Albanian nation in common. We are all Albanians and blood-brothers. Let us therefore put our Albanian-ness above everything else. The Assembly must be an expression of the strength and will of all Albanians to defend their nation and democracy. It must mark the triumph of traditional Albanian wisdom in solving the country's social and political problems. The assembly must be held as early as this November for the other no less important reason that this is now the most suitable moment to raise our voices with growing intensity to make the world, America, Europe, international organizations, and the peoples aware of the need to recognize the Republic of Kosovo as a necessary step toward solving the Albanian question as a whole.

3. The meeting decided to call on all of the country's political parties, all sociopolitical associations and organizations, all religious communities, and all patriotic Albanians to approve the holding of this assembly, to give their help to organizing it, and to take part in it, so that it will be crowned with total success. In particular, we call on the Albanian Youth Federation, university students and their organizations throughout the country, the Union of Independent Trade Unions, and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Albania to support the holding of this assembly.

4. We call on the political parties, social organizations, and distinguished political and social personalities of Kosovo to take part in this assembly for national conciliation and unification.

5. We invite all distinguished personalities and social and patriotic organizations from the Albanian diaspora to give their help and to send their representatives to this assembly.

Soviets Blamed for Failure of Presidents To Meet

AU2510184791 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—Mr. Ivailo Trifonov, head of the Office of the President, blamed the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs of not doing its job in preparing the Gorbachev-Zhelev meeting.

The Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs failed to coordinate the schedule of President Gorbachev with the schedule of President Zhelev during his visit to Moscow at the invitation of the president of the Russian Federation, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, Mr. Trifonov explained when asked by journalists why the meeting between Gorbachev and Dr. Zhelev had not taken place.

At first the meeting was proposed before Dr. Zhelev's meeting with Mr. Yeltsin. According to the diplomatic protocol, "when you have been invited by the president of a sovereign state, it is inadmissible to pay a visit to someone else first, even if it is President Gorbachev." The second suggested time coincided with the official luncheon given by Dr. Zhelev.

Zhelev Meeting With UK, U.S. Envoys Denied

AU2510184991 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—In a special statement today Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman for the Bulgarian president, refuted the allegations of a Greek newspaper that President Zhelyu Zhelev took part in a meeting with the ambassadors of Great Britain and the United States in Sofia to discuss the distribution of ministerial posts in the future cabinet.

Under the headline "EPIKEROTITA" [as received] Reveals NATO Interference in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Socialist Party's [BSP's] daily "DUMA" reported of this feature today.

President Zhelev has attended no such meeting, Mr. Stoyanov said and pointed out the striking synchrony between the BSP daily and certain Greek newspapers which are "constantly spreading such slanders and insinuations about Bulgaria's president and about other state institutions and politicians in Bulgaria." "Such intrigues are not conducive to the promotion of Bulgarian-Greek relations to which President Zhelev has devoted great efforts and which he sincerely values," Mr. Stoyanov said.

According to Mr. Ivailo Trifonov, head of the Office of the President, such publications "which are readily propagated by Bulgarian newspapers" are to the detriment of Bulgaria's national interests. It seems that Bulgaria's independent foreign policy does not appeal to certain political circles inside and outside Bulgaria, Mr. Trifonov said. In his opinion, there may be a link between this article in the Greek newspaper, its reproduction in the BSP daily and the forthcoming visit of President Zhelev to Belgium, NATO and the Commission of the EC in early November.

Britain Rejects Allegations

AU2510202991 Sofia BTA in English 1900 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—It is disinformation from the first to the last line, U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria, Mr. Hugh Kenneth Hill, told BTA in connection with today's story in "DUMA" headlined "'EPIKEROTITA' Reveals NATO Interference in Bulgaria.'"

The whole story would have sounded ridiculous were it not for the many people who may believe in it, said Mr. Richard Thomas, ambassador of the United Kingdom. According to him it is all a lie and deserves no comment.

The story in "DUMA" reported of the allegations of the Greek newspaper that the ministerial posts in the future cabinet were allegedly distributed at a meeting attended by the ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom, Bulgaria's President Zhelyu Zhelev and Union of Democratic Forces leader Filip Dimitrov. Today the spokesman for the president, Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, also refuted the participation of Dr. Zhelev in such a meeting.

Foreign Ministry Protests

AU2610134791 Sofia BTA in English 2217 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—Mr. Ivan Garvalov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, today summoned to the Ministry Mr. Michalis Christidis, the Greek charge d'affaires in Bulgaria, to express Bulgaria's bewilderment and protest over the insinuations of the Greek "EPIKEROTITA" newspaper about an alleged NATO interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs, Foreign Ministry spokesman Boris Chakurov told the BTA. In the same connection, the Bulgarian ambassador in Athens Mr. Bogdan Bogdanov protested to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The spokesman for the president Mr. Valentin Stoyanov and the ambassadors of the United States and Britain in Sofia today reacted against the story in the Greek newspaper and its reprinting in today's issue of the Socialist daily "DUMA."

Dr. Zhelev and Mr. Filip Dimitrov have never attended any meeting of the NATO ambassadors in Sofia, reads a press release which the British ambassador here, Mr. Richard Thomas, sent the BTA. As is known, the NATO ambassadors meet on a regular basis, and these meetings are always held on the third Thursday of every month. "We therefore met on October 17, too, and naturally we discussed the election results, but there was no report, nothing of the kind," Mr. Thomas says.

Serb Claims of Bulgarian Hostile Plans Rebutted

AU2610181391 Sofia BTA in English 1750 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Report by BTA correspondent Nikola Kitsevski: "Serbian Premier Blames Bulgaria"]

[Text] Sofia, October 26 (BTA)—The Serbian leadership tries to put some of the blame for the war in Yugoslavia on Bulgaria at a moment when this country has not only declared but is also firmly committed to its policy of peace and non-intervention in the federation's internal affairs.

"We see that those forces which were defeated in the two world wars: Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, are rallying to ruin Yugoslavia because of their long-standing interests," Serbian Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic said in his speech in Vojvodina yesterday. At the same time, after a number of statements by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, also confirmed that Bulgaria has no territorial claims on its neighbours, including the Yugoslav Federation.

The propaganda of the ruling Serbian Socialists (former Communists) and their satellites from some nationalist opposition parties are trying to extend the circle of the "aggressors." The aim of the Serbian leadership, as even the Belgrade press admits, is, by raising fears of "external enemies," to find a pretext for the mad war that is going on and to pin the responsibility for the national catastrophe on someone else.

Finance Minister Kostov Departs for Switzerland

AU2710191991 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] On 27 October, Finance Minister Ivan Kostov departed for Switzerland on a working visit. He will sign two important intergovernmental documents: an agreement on mutual protection of investments and an agreement on eliminating double taxation.

Kostov Comments on New Cabinet Composition

AU2710174091 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 27 (BTA)—Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, told the national radio today that he was not attending the consultations on the composition of Bulgaria's new Cabinet. According to him, the future government may either be a political one, comprising members of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) which won the recent elections, or it may have a broader base and include experts and independent ministers.

Mr. Kostov believes that the problem of the Cabinet's composition is less important than the problem of whether it will manage to win parliamentary support. "It is impossible to change the system without passing appropriate legislation and a Privatization Bill in particular." Mr. Kostov said that now that the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) is no longer a ruling party, its economic nomenklatura has been formally destroyed and could not be an obstacle to economic reform. "Of course, we should be very careful not to establish a new nomenklatura," Mr. Kostov warned.

According to Mr. Kostov, privatization should not be made an object of fetishism although it is the main instrument of economic reform. "The most important thing now is to create market conditions for the companies. Privatization is underway although it remains unnoticed," Mr. Kostov said. State housing facilities are being sold to individuals, land is being restored to its owners and the service industry is being privatized. However, when it comes to the privatization of production facilities, we should say that it will hardly be possible over the next ten years and that the state is likely to retain its control much longer than in the other economic sectors.

Mr. Kostov believes that large public funds such as the pension and health care funds may also be privatized and that BSP assets could become the main source of financing. The State Savings Bank may also buy shares in state enterprises. According to Mr. Kostov, people will be granted credits to take part in the privatization and there is nothing alarming about it.

New National Assembly To Convene 4 Nov

AU2510131491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The first meeting of the newly elected National Assembly will begin at 1000 on Monday, 4 November. This was stated in a presidential decree dated today, which was announced officially by presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov at the regular briefing at the Presidency in Sofia.

Lilov Says Consensus Reigned at BSP Plenum

AU2510153691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Report by Nina Spasova on "special news conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party" held in Sofia on 25 October]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held today's news conference in connection with the BSP Supreme Council plenum that ended in the early hours of 24 October. Aleksandur Lilov [chairman of the BSP Supreme Council] gave his own assessment of the plenum.

Mr. Lilov said that, at the plenum, warm support was expressed for the BSP, and a lively discussion took place. According to him, there were no sensations, and none should be expected in the near future. The plenum adopted its decisions almost unanimously. The results of

the elections were described as favorable for the BSP in the long term. They give the BSP an opportunity to adapt to the new conditions and to concentrate on changing the party itself and on defending the social interests of its electorate. The plenum decided that the BSP has to switch from the phase of renewal to a phase of change, turning itself into a postcommunist party.

As Aleksandur Lilov put it, known differences of views had once again made their appearance in the party's Presidium, but, in his view, the existence of alternatives goes to prove that the health and strength of the BSP is increasing.

The date of the party congress will become known when the events expected in the general political scene before the end of the year become clear. Here Mr. Lilov probably had in mind the date of the presidential elections. However, the congress will take place no later than in mid-December.

The plenum rejected a resolution that Aleksandur Lilov and Andrey Lukanov should not participate in the preparations for the BSP congress and instructed the party chairman to deliver the main report to the congress. It is probable that a number of alternative documents for the congress will also appear.

The need was noted of speeding up the execution of the decisions already adopted concerning the BSP's property. The issue of the party headquarters building and its fate will be put on the agenda of the congress.

The plenum did not discuss the question of the BSP's presidential candidate.

Lilov: 'No Sensations' Expected at BSP Congress

AU2510183391 Sofia BTA in English 1708 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—"There were no sensations and there will be none in the foreseeable future," BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] leader Aleksandur Lilov told the press today after the Socialist (ex-Communist) Party completed its first plenum as an opposition party yesterday morning. In his opinion, no sensations can be expected at the BSP congress in early December, either.

Mr. Lilov, who became leader of the BSP in January 1990, described the reports of sensations and leadership changes at the plenum as a "sublimation of journalists' and politicians' desires and complexes." Around the plenum, some papers reported that Lilov was in disgrace. But the plenum adopted its decisions by consensus. Mr. Lilov believes that the half-million Socialist Party is not likely to split, "despite the different tendencies in its leadership."

The Socialists are apprehensive of possible repressive actions against them.

The congress in December is to decide on the party's headquarters (the so-called Party House). The former opposition has long been insisting that the building be turned over to the state. There will be alternative programmes for the BSP's future policy. The plenum, however, was categorical that the programmes should be worked out only by circles within the Supreme Council of the BSP.

The BSP assessed its participation in the elections, which were won by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), as a success both from the short-term and from the long-term point of view. The SDS gained just a marginal lead and the BSP is well ahead in the local elections. The BSP regards the failure of the centrist parties to get parliamentary representation as an unfavourable fact.

"The BSP is not inclined to underestimate the important role of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) in this parliament. But it makes a clear difference between the rights and freedoms of ethnic Turks and the DPS's policy, which is not sufficiently clear," Mr. Lilov pointed out.

BZNS-United Permanent Board Resigns

AU2510193491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Today, the Administrative Council of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-United] ended a two-day closed meeting in the Aleksandur Stamboliyski Memorial Building in Sofia. The decisions and results of the meeting were publicized at a new conference held this evening, at which Svetoslav Shivarov, chairman of the BZNS-United Administrative Council, had this to say to the journalists:

[Begin Shivarov recording] The meeting discussed a report by the BZNS-United Permanent Board that analyzed the work carried out by the BZNS-United on preparing for and holding the legislative and municipal council elections. Against the background of this analysis, an in-depth and comprehensive discussion took place on the state of our organization and on turning the Agrarian Union within a short space of time into an organization that (?all Allied Agrarians can support). In this context, the meeting resolved in principle to fix the date of a BZNS-United congress, which is to be held in January 1991. [end recording]

The Administrative Council accepted the collective resignation of the BZNS-United Permanent Board, despite the fact that it did not accept that the board was wholly responsible for the union's failure in the elections, which was considered a disaster for the union. During the election of a new Permanent Board, the view prevailed that the board's previous composition should be retained but with a smaller membership of 10 instead of 17 members, and [passage indistinct], according to the decisions of the national conference, held on 27 July 1991.

Tsenko Barev was reelected chairman of BZNS-United. The names of those members of the Permanent Board

whose resignations were accepted include Ivan Glushkov, Aleksandur Stamboliyski, Dimitur Batalov, Aleksandur Dimitrov, and others.

It is expected that the BZNS-United congress will submit to the Bulgarian people ideas for renewing the organization, elect a new union leadership, and renew its own membership.

Beginning tomorrow, the union's newspaper, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, will reappear, displaying the union's orange color.

Bulgarian Democratic Center Established

AU2610191491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] After settling the final outstanding points, the constituent act was signed today for the formation of the Bulgarian Democratic Center [Bulgarski demokratichen tsentur].

Mr. Petko Simeonov [chairman of the Federation of Democracy Clubs] informed us by telephone that the Bulgarian Democratic Center is composed of parties, organizations, and individuals with centrist ways of thinking and behavior. He added that detailed information would be presented later. The founders of the Bulgarian Democratic Center plan to give a news conference.

Podkrepa Official Expelled; Congress Called

AU2610180391 Sofia BTA in English 1722 GMT 26 Oct 91

[BTA report: "On the Conflict in Podkrepa"]

[Text] Sofia, October 26 (BTA)—The press comments on the disagreements in the leadership of the influential Podkrepa Labour Confederation. At its meeting yesterday the Confederation Council decided to dismiss Mr. Doncho Ivanov as vice president and to expel him from the organization. A few days ago Mr. Ivanov accused Dr. Trenchev, Podkrepa president, of concentrating all the power in his hands and demanded his resignation.

The motive for Mr. Ivanov's expulsion is that during the last two months he has been making statements that damaged the prestige of the organization and reduced public confidence in it. The daily of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation provides no further details.

At its meeting the Confederation Council adopted a declaration which says that all the attempts to split Podkrepa have proved futile and that reason, democracy and trust have taken the upper hand.

Mr. Ivanov claims, however, that many of the representatives of the local Podkrepa organizations walked out of the above-mentioned meeting and the decision on his dismissal was adopted in their absence. Mr. Ivanov said that Dr. Trenchev had thwarted the first attempt ever to discuss the actions of the Executive Committee but that the representatives of the local organizations who staged the walk-out would withdraw their support for the Executive Committee and hold it responsible for the violations of the organization's statute.

At its meeting the Confederation Council disapproved of the activities and policy line of Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, minister of industry, trade and services, and made a decision not to support Mr. Pushkarov's candidature for a ministerial post in the new cabinet.

The Confederation Council also decided to convene a congress on February 8, 1992, the birthday of the confederation.

Role of Trade Unions in Elections Assessed

AU2610153291 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 21 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Article by Maya Lyubomirska: "Where Are the Trade Unions To Go After the Elections?"]

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], which, after winning the people's vote of confidence in the 13 October elections, has established itself as the leading political force in Bulgaria and has declared its readiness to start work in the new National Assembly before the end of this month. This means that the SDS, with its legislative majority, will also have to form the new Cabinet. Whereas we will probably have to wait until the beginning of November to learn the names of those who will occupy the new ministerial posts, the positions of the two trade union giants are already beginning to be clarified. Although it is too early to make forecasts about the composition and actions of the future ministerial team, it seems to me that the time has come for us to assess what role the trade union giants played in relation to the outcome of the elections and how they will act from now on.

Following the established and original East European tradition of trade union intervention in politics, both the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] joined in the election campaign, either directly or not. Accordingly, they also played their part in affecting the results of the elections that have now been made known because, during the preelection alignment, they directly or indirectly helped to shape public opinion and succeeded in tipping the scales to one side or the other.

As long ago as last March, the SDS began talking about the need to elect a new legislature that would reflect the SDS's strengthening positions in society. At that time, the Podkrepa Labor Confederation declared its support for the SDS. At the Third SDS National Conference, Podkrepa's leader, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, developed the idea of the opposition taking part in the election on a united basis, with a single list and a single ballot paper, because it was well known even then that the Bulgarian people had an alternative—namely, to bid farewell to

communism. However, this idea was far from being to the liking of certain party leaders in the opposition coalition. Furious attacks followed from Messrs. Petur Dertliev, Petko Simeonov, and Aleksandur Karakachanov. There was talk of totalitarianism spawning a new son, of a new, almost monolithic, blue party. Immediately following the Third National Conference, these same party leaders held a midnight minimeeting at which they planned an attempted "coup" in the SDS. The end result was that certain wings of the opposition split off to form new factions. These formations duly decided to run in the elections with separate lists and ballot paper and, in fact, did so. Podkrepa did not change its viewpoint regarding the need for the opposition to unite its forces and continued to support the SDS.

However, the issue also arose of the need for a political center. It was even predicted that this center, which would be formed by the liberals and Dr. Dertliev's supporters, would counterbalance the political polarization and even, believe it or not, shape the future legislature. These ideas proved to be close to the heart of the KNSB.

The KNSB launched themselves with particular vigor into the final stretch of the election campaign to win over the voters. Prof. Krustyu Petkov used his television time on the "Panorama" program to make far from delicate hints to the viewers and future electors concerning who should get their votes. They should carefully listen to his choice of the liberals and vote to return Mr. Karakachanov as mayor of Sofia. Relays of meetings followed in support of the unemployed, at which the idea was launched that social democracy provided the only reliable brake on unemployment. The KNSB also presented its own candidates in the lists of the center and the liberals, with the ambition of forming a trade union lobby in the future legislature.

On 14 October, however, it became clear that two-thirds of the Bulgarian voters, following their correct intuition, had chosen the path of prosperity for Bulgaria by voting for the SDS. Immediately following the elections, the Podkrepa Labor Confederation announced that it would not take part in the consultations on forming the new government. However, it reserved for itself the right to comment on the candidates. Podkrepa leader Dr. Konstantin Trenchev declared that his confederation would not repeat the mistake made by the Polish Solidarity and would not become a satellite of any political force because it is well known that, throughout the world, trade unions, if they are true to their name, form an opposition to any government.

However, the KNSB found itself in the delicate situation of having to explain that a political center does not in fact exist, without explaining for whose benefit the trade union actions were mounted that supported the self-confidence of the liberals and centrists, who were quite sure that they would win the elections. On which party did the many Bulgarians who were hoodwinked by the trade union forecasts and the choice made by Professor Petkov waste their votes? The official KNSB spokesman Mrs. Diana Damyanova even informed a Sofia daily that even with these results it is possible to form a serious—in her words—government. However, it is as yet unclear how the rightful scion of the Bulgarian trade unions will work with this serious government. From the KNSB election campaign declarations, we only know that partnership imposed by force of circumstances, such as existed with the previous government, is not to the KNSB's taste. We will discover later the name of the party on which the KNSB will stake its money, and whether the confederation will be a guarantor or opponent of this party.

Minister Expresses Doubts on Economic Prospects

AU2510124091 Sofia BTA in English 0103 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 24 (BTA)—Going on television this evening, Bulgarian Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov did not conceal his fears about the country's future. He clearly expressed his doubts that the new parliament could work efficiently because the Union of Democratic Forces commands a fragile majority in it and the government would hardly be able to act at the necessary pace and in the necessary direction. Mr. Kostov is embarrassed by the economic views of ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF). It is not clear whether the MRF really wants the reform, the minister said.

Mr. Kostov declared himself to be for a synchrony of parliament and government and for continuity in the new cabinet, especially as far as its economic team is concerned. He said that such a continuity was also recommended "outside the country" and explained that Japan is in no hurry to grant credit lines to Bulgaria because they want first to see whether after the elections in Bulgaria they will work with the same people.

Mr. Kostov let it be understood that all major decisions concerning Bulgaria's future will be taken inside the country and that things will not improve without hard work. Mr. Kostov called for common sense and responsibility and recommended that parliament and the government should adopt medium-term programmes. Mr. Kostov declared himself to be for stability and did not rule out the possibility of elections being held ahead of time.

The interview touched upon the recent audit at the former Security and Protection Department. The audit is over but there is still some work to do before a final decision is made. However, the Ministry of Finance is considering statements against former top officials charged with embezzlement.

Statistics Show Increase in Food Expenditures

AU2810112591 Sofia BTA in English 1001 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 28 (BTA)—Nine months after the start of the economic reform the high prices have forced the Bulgarian households to spend most of their incomes on food, housing, heating, electricity and taxes. Spendings on clothing, furniture and entertainment are constantly shrinking.

Household expenditures had to be reduced. From August 1990 to August 1991 the consumer prices index reached 494.12 percent. The purchasing power of the national currency dropped 79.8 points. Now Bulgarians buy goods and services for which they used to pay 20 leva less than a year ago for 100 leva, according to a report of the Central Statistical Board, quoted in today's "DUMA."

In 1989 the families spent 36.3 percent of their incomes on food. In the first half of this year food expenditures already consumed 47.7 percent of the family budget. A comparison would show a drastic difference: in Austria, Denmark, Belgium and France no more than 17 percent of the family budget is spent on food.

Statistics show that food spendings are highest in Sofia: 41.5 percent of the household budget. Sofia is the most expensive Bulgarian city, according to the Federation of Consumers. Meat consumption is highest in Sofia: 9.7 percent. Villagers tend to eat more bread and bakery products. Most villagers say they find the prices excessively high.

Kozloduy 6th Reactor Reaches 75% Capacity

AU2710191791 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] As of today, the 1,000-megawatt sixth reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant is functioning at 75 percent of its capacity.

The fifth reactor, which was shut down almost six months ago for repairs, has been reloaded with nuclear fuel. The permission of the Committee on Power Supply to integrate the fifth reactor in the power supply system is expected.

The reconstruction of the first reactor—one of the power plant's oldest reactors—continues. It is conducted with the assistance of experts from the World Association of the Countries Exploiting Nuclear Power Plants. [name of group as heard]

Havel Addresses U.S. Audience on Economy

LD2510191191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel spent most of last night at the Constitutional Rights Foundation in Los Angeles. Our correspondent to the United States, Jan Smid, has phoned in the details:

[Smid] Yesterday Vaclav Havel attended a gala dinner organized by the World (?Church) Council and the Constitutional Rights Foundation and delivered an address that was heard by several hundred listeners. He remarked that we are once again building a government based on the rule of law and that the so- called List of Basic Rights and Liberties is perhaps the most important law adopted by our new Federal Assembly.

However, the whole address was targeted at the country's current economic situation:

[Begin Havel recording] However, as it has turned out, thanks to lower expenditures on exports, and thanks to a restrictive fiscal and monetary policy and to the fledgling revival of exports, the current account deficit will be considerably lower. Over the first eight months, the current account deficit was 300 million dollars, while the current account balance in free currencies even showed a slight credit. [end recording]

[Smid] Vaclav Havel spoke, first and foremost, about the program of radical transformation of our economy, a program approved by our Federal Assembly. This program rests on four basic pillars: liberalization of prices, internal convertibility of the koruna, privatization, and anti-inflation budgetary, monetary, and income policy. The president went on to say that neither small privatization nor restitution laws would be able to ensure a fundamental change of ownership relations in Czechoslovakia, where until November 1989 the state and quasi-state sector produced an unbelievable 97 percent of added value. While the Czechoslovak authorities welcome the influx of foreign capital, and while the pending commercial code will pose no restrictions—apart from some negligible exceptions regarding foreign investors as opposed to indigenous investors—it is clear that a greater proportion of assets cannot be privatized, even by selling state assets to foreign subjects.

At the end of his report on the economic situation in our country, our president recalled the importance of international companies for the building of a modern, effective, and dynamic market economy. After his speech, Vaclav Havel answered written questions from the audience.

OH Claims Slovakia Could Jeopardize EC Accord

AU2810111591 Prague CSTK in English 2211 GMT 25 OCT 91

[Text] Prague Oct 25 (CSTK)—Slovakia's demand that a future EC association accord with Czechoslovakia emphasize that Czechoslovakia is made up of two sovereign republics is one of the two unresolved problems preventing the signing of such an accord, Civic Movement (OH) Deputy Chairman Pavel Rychetsky told a press conference here today.

"An EC association accord will not be concluded if Czechoslovakia insists the accord include this point. In contrast to Hungary and Poland, Czechoslovakia will not win association to the EC this year", Rychetsky said.

He added the talks on granting Czechoslovakia associate status in the EC would be postponed another year, when the community will be presided over by Portugal, which does not, he said, favor associate EC status for Czechoslovakia.

Rychetsky said the federal cabinet decided at its latest meeting to raise once again its demand for changing the text of the association accord in Brussels. If this demand should jeopardize the signing of the accord, Czechoslovakia will not insist on it, Rychetsky declared.

He said the other problem hindering the signing of the accord is Greece's demand that the volume of truck transport from Greece through Czechoslovakia be increased.

Rychetsky, who is also federal deputy premier, noted that many politicians in Czechoslovakia, and also in the Czech Republic, have been losing hope that the common state can be preserved, since little success has been achieved in drafting a new concept for a unified Czechoslovakia.

He said he was nevertheless convinced the Czechoslovak state would continue to exist, and added that the OH will work toward maintaining the common state and its status as a full-fledged subject of international law.

x x x

Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky said in an interview for Slovak Television on Thursday [24 October] that he sees no reason for the EC not to comply with the Slovak Government's demand that the text of the EC association accord be changed.

Carnogursky said that under the existing division of powers between the Czechoslovak Federation and the two republics, implementation of 80 percent of the association accord's provisions would fall within the powers of the republics. He said this is why the republics will have to discuss many issues with EC bodies directly.

x x x

Slovakia may secede from federal Czechoslovakia without bearing any responsibility, Jan Kalvoda, the deputy chairman of the Czech parliament and member of the political leadership of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), told a press conference today.

He said Slovak politicians want to separate without clearly saying "yes, we want to separate", and do not want to bear responsibility for their decision before Slovak voters. The Czech politicians therefore want their Slovak partners to express themselves more clearly, Kalvoda said.

Constitutional Talks in Stirin Assessed

AU2510153891 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Oct pp 1-2

["ST"-signed report: "The Treaty Is Slow in Coming"]

[Text] Yesterday, in the Central Bohemian town of Stirin, the talks continued between the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council Presidiums about the form of the common state.

First, the two bodies met separately to decide on further action on controversial points regarding the division of power, and to assess the other party's views on the status of the treaty.

The status of the treaty seems to have been the greatest obstacle. Jan Kalvoda, Czech National Council deputy chairman, held that only a change in the Slovak side's stance could lead to some results. Ivan Carnogursky, first deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, said: "We understand the treaty as a state, i.e. constitutional document. Such a serious matter as the coexistence of two republics cannot be defined by a mere legislative initiative, as proposed by the Czech side. The small word state should not be the reason for the disintegration of the federation."

The prime ministers of both national governments, Petr Pithart and Jan Carnogursky, also attended the Stirin talks. "It is time to make a decision," the Czech prime minister told reporters. "If we were a country with an operating market economy, we could afford to let the issue of power drag on for decades. In our transformation, however, all powers must be clearly defined. The main obstacle will not be limited to the division of powers. It will include the procedural route to the future constitutions—what we will call the treaty, and what will happen with its contents. We insist that the only common state is a federation." Petr Pithart pointed out that, because of the pressing budget negotiations, both sides should try to compromise. Otherwise, relations could dramatically deteriorate. According to him, the treaty between the republics cannot be binding on the Federal Assembly.

Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky stated upon his arrival that these talks, fortunately, are not a government matter, but an affair of the National Councils. He expressed his doubts concerning the possibility that the Czech Republic or the Slovak Republic could influence the legal status of the treaty. According to him, this is dictated by its content and by international law. It would be insufficient for Slovakia if it were considered a legislative initiative only.

Still, a joint session took place before noon. "We went through the division of powers proposal that was prepared overnight by experts," said Anton Vavro, Slovak Republic deputy prime minister. The experts must continue working on the points where no consensus has been reached. They will meet before the end of next week. They should consider police jurisdiction, nuclear safety, the environment, economic competition protection, etc., he said.

Jan Strasky, Czech Republic deputy prime minister, commented on the basic principle of drafting the federal budget for 1992. It should not include only the revenues and expenditures necessary for financing the federation as a service to the republics. Should the unsteadiness of the federation continue, the Czech side would have to consider this to be a temporary situation and would not be very willing to support anything but Czech regions, Strasky said.

In the afternoon, we learned the first definite results. The executive and legislative powers of the common state should, according to the presidiums, include: defense, protection of the constitution, and fulfillment of the duties inferred by international obligations. There is consensus regarding budget rules, designated funds, management of property owned by the federation, material reserves, protection of rights to invisible assets, weights and measures, technical standardization, and state testing.

The federation should control issuance of currency. A common state body would decide on the amount of money in circulation, administer a single currency, and implement the credit, interest, and foreign-currency policies. Regarding foreign policy, the common state should conclude international political treaties and international agreements on economic and business cooperation. The republics could conclude agreements on cooperation in the business, economic, cultural, scientific, and other spheres with other states or parts of those states. All this is subject to review by international law experts as to whether all this is possible.

In the legislative sphere of the Czechoslovak state, the presidia have agreed so far that it would include the principles and extent of price regulation, energy production, accounting, bookkeeping, statistics, technical and travel documents, entry and visa permits for foreigners, and radio and television broadcast licenses. The question of data protection [ochrana dat] remains open.

At the end of the news conference, National Council Chairmen Buresova and Miklosko reported that the presidia agreed to continue the talks in Bratislava from 31 October to 1 November. The executive committees will begin their talks today. The National Council chairmen expressed their hope that they could then reach more tangible results. Regarding the treaty, both representatives reiterated their well-known, opposite points of view. They expressed, however, mild optimism. Nevertheless, hope of additional progress is, as the news conference implied, very faint.

Calfa Interviewed

LD2610080491 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1850 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified correspondent on 25 October, place not given; correspondent's questions in Czech with Calfa answering in Slovak; "Ten Minutes with the Prime Minister" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] Only people who are optimistic by nature expected positive results from the constitutional talks in Stirin. Despite this, it would appear that the results were more than poor. The constitutional problems were postponed, in effect, and it was said that the only success achieved was that some agreement was reached regarding responsibilities. I would like to ask: Mr. Miklosko said that the less responsibilities there are at the federal level, the better it will be because there will be less opportunity for friction. I remember that commissions existed when the law on responsibilities was drawn up, which addressed all three subjects—both national governments and the federal one. This time, the federal government was excluded. What can you say?

[Calfa] Before I deal with your question, I would like to return to the talks held in Karlovy Vary, because it is there that the basis of the present situation lies. The talks in Karlovy Vary, which were attended by the three prime ministers, the three legislature speakers, and the president of the republic, who had, in fact, convened that meeting, proceeded from a totally different concept. They proceeded from the responsibilities that, in fact, form a state. It does not matter what kind of state it is, whether it is a Czechoslovak or another one; we asked ourselves what, in fact, are the responsibilities that, in theory, form a state. We asked individual participants, all of whom sat there, whether in fact they wanted a common state, and I must say that all of them, without a single exception, said yes. At that moment, we drew the conclusion that the responsibilities that form that state constitute a standard and are a minimum; they are building blocks.

There are five responsibilities, and we listed them. We also said that, if anyone does not want any one of them, the whole edifice will collapse, and this means that, in fact, they do want a common state. This, therefore, became the standard, which all the participants took home with them. We were, on the whole, pleased that the statement issued by the Slovak National Council was positive overall and that they accepted our premise. The Presidium of the Czech National Council also made positive comment on it.

According to information in our possession, the talks in Stirin suddenly implied a certain shift. It meant that once again maneuvers had begun around individual duties. I see behind this a bit of an intention not to form a common state, because we reached the conclusion that there are certain foundations that must be left intact, and if they are not, if they are disturbed, one then does not want a common state, one does not want to have this solid foundation. At the same time, I proposed in Karlovy Vary that, as representatives of federal bodies, we should take part in the talks in Stirin, and at these talks the federal leadership would contribute the sum of information in our possesion to reach a common conclusion. I have to say that I met with refusal by the representatives of both National Councils. They did not want representatives of federal bodies to attend the talks. This is a relatively sad matter because, after all, we are all endeavoring to build something that would be qualitatively new, and I have always proceeded from the premise that anyone who has some knowledge about the matter should take part in the talks.

This happened a year ago, and this is why the relevant commissions were set up, and this is why they gathered together all the brains who could say something about the matter but, alas, this has not happened at present. At present, it is the presidia of both National Councils that hold discussions, and I have come to the conclusion, based on the information published by the press, that they do not possess a sufficient amount of basic information, information from the state apparatus, in order to know what to conclude to ensure that the state functions as a state. This, therefore, provokes a relatively considerable dilemma. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister—the law on screening. You and your Club [of Deputies in the Federal Assembly] have voted in its favor, which means that you have signed, too. The president signed it after some hesitation and, at the same time, described it as a problematic law, a view that he reiterated in the United States; he also proposed to amend it. He turned to the constitutional and legal committees and to the Federal Government's Legislative Council. What is your opinion on this, and what will the Government do in this respect?

[Calfa] Well, the president submitted his own idea of an amendment to the law; he did not submit it in the form of a [legal] paragraph. I received the president's letter and Mr. Dubcek also received it. After reading it, I would characterize it as a specific idea of the principles of the change that he proposes. He addressed the Federal Assembly—the president has the right to propose a legislative initiative—so now this is something between the president and the Federal Assembly.

We understand the fact that he addressed the government in the form of his specific wish that the Legislative Council should help in this issue, that we could work out a certain legislative-technical proposal of his ideas in the form of paragraphs and then submit it to the Federal Assembly. In this way, we could help the Federal Assembly, in particular its Constitutional and Legal

Committees, to elaborate the president's proposal technically. It will then be up to the Federal Assembly as to what it will do with the proposal.

The law is valid, and it will remain valid until the Federal Assembly adopts a view on it in the form of an amendment, or perhaps its (?confirmation). To put it briefly, our contribution to the president's demand would be legislative-technical help to the Constitutional and Legal Committees of the Federal Assembly.

Pithart Comments

AU2810094991 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Oct 91 p 2

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Stefan Hrcka; place and date not given: "The Origin of Czechoslovakia Was Not Constitutional Either"]

[Text] Yesterday, upon arrival at the talks of the National Council presidiums in Stirin near Prague, Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart said: "I have always believed that the Kromeriz [meeting] was the brightest spot of our talks. In Kromeriz, we talked about a treaty that would be a legislative initiative in content but a treaty by name. It was there that we agreed that the National Councils would ratify the federal constitution." He added, among other things, "For me the easiest route is the constitutionally pure route." Because of these statements, we asked P. Pithart several questions:

[Hrcka] Is it necessary to pass a particular constitutional Federal Assembly law on the method of adopting the constitution in order to follow the constitutionally pure route? How else could the ratification of the federal constitution be legally guaranteed?

[Pithart] I ask you, would another law be necessary to adopt this constitutional law, one that would specify how this can be done? My goodness, we must be at least a bit comprehensible to the citizens. This route is a lengthy diversion.

[Hrcka] Is the ratification legally possible now?

[Pithart] (A long pause) The ratification would have to be a part of the National Councils' treaty.

[Hrcka] If the National Councils' treaty on legislative initiative were not legally binding, it would not oblige the Federal Assembly....

[Pithart] It cannot bind the Federal Assembly. In the final instance, the deputies decide according to their conscience. We cannot bind the Federal Assembly. How do you want to bind the supreme legislative body?

[Hrcka] By the Federal Assembly adopting a constitutional law that would specify that the new federal constitution is subject to ratification by the National Councils.

[Pithart] The Federal Assembly could bind itself, but National Councils cannot bind the Assembly.

[Hrcka] I referred to the federal constitutional law—and the National Councils could propose that the Federal Assembly adopt such a law.

[Pithart] Of course, they could do that.

[Hrcka] Do you think that this would be a way out of the impasse that would make the ratification of the federal constitution legally possible? Namely, it is not legally possible now.

[Pithart] It is neither excluded, nor expected—hence, it is possible.

[Hrcka] In every legal state, and according to our constitutional Charter of Basic Rights and Freedoms, in effect, the state bodies—including the Federal Assembly and the National Councils—can only do that what the law permits. The ratification of the new federal constitution by the National Councils, however, is not embodied in the law, and by extension, the law does not permit it. It means that—according to the legal regulations in effect—the ratification of the new federal constitution by the National Councils is legally impossible. Am I wrong?

[Pithart] I believe you are wrong, because if we applied this principle once (for the first and the last time) to comply with the understandable and justified Slovak idea of building the federation from below, then it would happen just once, and it would not be a rule. It would be a matter of a political agreement that we would do it for the first and last time.

The law always defines a certain norm—a norm is a general rule: Given such and such situation, this will be done.

If this were a one-time-only step, then it would not be a rule but a matter of political consensus.

[Hrcka] Would it be a constitutional route?

[Pithart] Of course, it would be, if all three legislative bodies agree on it.

[Hrcka] Even if legal regulations are not followed?

[Pithart] One cannot follow the legal regulations, because it is a unique act.

[Hrcka] So the regulations may be violated once?

[Pithart] Was the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918 a constitutional step or not? Was Czechoslovakia founded according to the Constitution? It was not, because it was founded only once—and I hope that it was the last time.

[Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 24 October on page 1 publishes a similar interview by Robert Kotian with Pithart, in Stirin on 23 October, which includes these questions:

"[Kotian] Do you admit the possibility that in 1996, for example, a Czechoslovak confederation might exist?

[Pithart] Of course, it is possible. After all, everything will be different then than you and I imagine it today. Today, Europe disdains our problems, and I can assure you that it does not expect that everybody would march into the EC with his own star.

[Kotian] I seem to recollect that Europe was also looking with disdain on the situation in Slovenia. Not just the Czechs and the Slovaks, but Europe is developing, too.

[Pithart] Europe disdains, above all, the methods used in solving the Yugoslav problem. If the constitutional procedure is maintained in Czechoslovakia, the situation would be different. It is the unconstitutionality that bothers Europe most."]

Miklosko Views Talks

LD2510123291 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] The talks between the presidia of both National Councils about the constitutional arrangement of Czechoslovakia continue in Stirin. After the talks on defining the powers of the joint state ended, Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, told journalists that the existing results of the talks constitute a step forward as opposed to the last talks held in Bratislava. Unresolved thus far are the powers falling under the Federal Ministry of the Interior and in the fields of ecology and nuclear power. The division of powers in foreign policy, too, remains open. Talks held late this afternoon concerned the philosophy and procedural character of the treaty between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Frantisek Miklosko said, in this context, that the treaty cannot be adopted without clarifying the whole matter. He described the problem as a misunderstanding, and he added that the Czech side apparently understands the treaty in the international sense of the word.

Moravian Silesian Chairman on Allied Parties

AU2510154691 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 91 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Jan Krycer, chairman of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia, by Petr Vana; place and date not given: "The Moravian Lobby Is Without the Civic Democratic Party"]

[Excerpts] [Vana] Does the appearance of opposition on the scene signify a real split in the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia?

[Krycer] What is happening in our movement can under no circumstances be described as a split. The support of individual local organizations is dictated by the information that these organizations have received. When the district chairmen in some localities opposed the leadership elected at the assembly, they influenced the local organizations through disinformation and "sifting" the incoming information. We are gradually correcting this. [passage omitted]

[Vana] You have been accused of "collaborating" with the Petr Pithart government. The leadership of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia is supposed to be accepting the Civic Movement platform and retreating from the idea of a union arrangement. If so, why?

[Krycer] The movement has two options: We can rigidly stick to the platform and claim hegemony of Moravia and Silesia, insisting that we do not have to make any compromises—slam a fist on the table and declare that the next day we will be a union republic. If they did not "obey," we would plow the highways or block the railroad. We could also proceed in an absolutely reasonable, legislative manner and try to reach our goals by negotiating with political parties and representatives.

[Vana] At one time, it seemed as if you were giving up the idea of a union arrangement of the CSFR because of the Slovak position. What is your goal now?

[Krycer] Consultations with our partners revealed that we can hold onto the idea of a union republic. The Moravian Silesian Council was formed, and if it is admitted as a party to the talks between the Czech and the Slovak representatives, we will attempt to push our idea through. It has gained the support of such political parties as the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia with Meciar at its head, the Christian Democratic Movement with Carnogursky, and even the Public Against Violence movement is not opposed to it.

[Vana] Which parties are included on the Moravian Silesian Council?

[Krycer] The Moravian Silesian democratic bloc consists of the Socialist Party, the Agrarian Party, the Green Party, the Social Democrats, our Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia, the Christian and Democratic Union, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Moravian National Party, the Civic Movement, the Party of the Countryside, and others. The statutes of the council are being discussed. We have agreed that the draft statutes will be submitted by the Czech National Council deputies headed by J. Muller from the Civic Movement.

[Vana] This Moravian Silesian political alliance will include the entire spectrum of political forces?

[Krycer] Yes. Even the Democratic Left of M. Kraus and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia have announced their representatives on the council. Only the

Civic Democratic Party, which has done so from its inception, rejects all ideas of Moravian Silesian self-administration. Nevertheless, the council is an open body.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 21 October on page 3 publishes a similar interview with Krycer by Ivo Savara who adds the following question:

"[Savara] It is no secret that unity is lacking in your party....

[Krycer] Due to last year's Kromeriz declaration, which was supposed to anticonstitutionally establish a Moravian representative body, a split into two deputy clubs occurred in the Federal Assembly. The reason for the split was an attempt to criticize Dr. Barta's proceeding and replace it with an ordinary legislative proceeding, and an attempt to terminate his authoritative decision-making. If you have the current situation in mind, I can only say that of the 30,000 members of our movement, only 97 have announced their affiliation with the so-called platform."]

Poll Shows Disillusionment With Slovak Parties

AU2610144691 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 23 Oct 91 p 4

[CSTK report: "People Love the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia"]

[Text] The Institute for Public Opinion Research, operating under the Slovak Statistical Office, regularly monitors the development of citizens' support for parties and movements on the Slovak political scene. The latest data are from the beginning of October. They are based on replies by 903 respondents who were selected to make the sample correspond to the structure of the Slovak population from the viewpoint of sex, age, size of the community, and the region of Slovakia in which they live.

Sympathy for Political Parties and Movements

(in percent)

	6 September 91	9 October 91
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia	31.1	28.8
Christian Democratic Movement	9.2	11.8
Slovak National Party	10.2	9.9
Party of the Democratic Left	12.6	9.4
Public Against Violence	3.8	3.7
Green Party	5.1	3.6
Democratic Party	7.1	3.4
Coexistence-Egyutteles	1.9	1.6
Czechoslovak Agrarian Party	1.4	1.2
Social Democratic Party in Slovakia	0.9	1.1
Movement for Czech/Slovak Accord	1.0	0.8
Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement	0.7	0.3
Freedom Party	0.5	0.2
Other political parties	1.9	0.7
No sympathy for any party or movement	12.6	23.5

Bratislava Commodity Exchange Registered

AU2510154891 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 17 Oct 91 p 9

["kla"-signed report: "Trade in Commodities"]

[Text] East-West trade relations have numerous shortcomings. Prominent among them are slowness, insufficient information, and insecurity concerning payments. For the Slovak business sector, the loss of links with the Soviet market is particularly damaging. This is not all. The Soviet private sector, which is developing very quickly, is a very significant but unknown quantity.

An association of entrepreneurs intends to deal with the situation by founding a universal exchange in Bratislava, which would trade in all kinds of commodities. The Bratislava exchange will be linked to the largest exchanges in the Soviet Union. The exchange expects close cooperation with trade-industrial associations in the Soviet Union and Slovakia. The exchange is intended primarily for private entrepreneurs.

The foundation of the exchange has been initiated by the Austro- Czechoslovak company AUTIN, the Czechoslovak-Soviet company IME DELAKT, the Moscow company DELAKT, Finvestbank of Moscow, the Priorbank of Minsk, the International Business Center, and the Russian Commodity Exchange.

Other capital, trade, and industrial organizations in the Soviet Union, the CSFR, and Western countries are waiting to join the exchange.

The exchange founders are encouraging significant businesses to become founders of the exchange. The exchange shareholders will include DELAKT, the Russian Universal Exchange, Finvestbank, the International Cooperation Center Moscow, Priorbank, Reiffeisen ORWZ of Vienna, the Flammings of London, DELAKT IME of Bratislava, AUTIN, the First Slovak Investment Company of Bratislava, Euroset of Bratislava, and the First Investment Company of Prague.

The Bratislava Universal Exchange is to become an open stockholding company with capital assets of 50 million korunas. The ultimate participation of 250 broker companies is expected. The exchange was registered at the Bratislava I District Court on 1 October. The Congress Hall of the Druzba [Friendship] dormitory of Comenius University in Bratislava will serve as a temporary headquarters for the exchange.

Serbia's Jovanovic Issues Statement After Talks

LD2810154291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, 28 Oct (TANJUG)—"This has been a wide-ranging review of all forms of bilateral relations," Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said, summing up his first impressions following talks with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky in Budapest.

Assessing the talks, which lasted for three hours, twice as long as had been envisaged, Minister Jovanovic said that the dialogue was open and wide-ranging and that readiness exists on both sides to bring relations between Serbia and Hungary back to the level to which they were before the Yugoslav crisis began. This is conditioned by the reestablishment of peace in Yugoslavia, Jovanovic added.

Vladislav Jovanovic also said that both sides expressed their expectation that the press in both countries will have a positive role in the future and will contribute to the creation of a better image of the two neighbors, avoiding the creation of an atmosphere of distrust or even hatred. Some issues, such as the regulation of border traffic and the elimination of delays at border crossings, will soon be overcome, probably in a few days' time, Jovanovic said.

Summing up Hungarian impressions, a spokesman for the Hungarian Foreign Ministry stressed that both sides presented all contentious questions, not bypassing even the most delicate ones, which he said is the main result of the talks between the two ministers. He added that Hungary is most interested in Serbian stands on bilateral relations and in ways to end the Yugoslav crisis.

Entz on Talks, Minority Issues

LD2810111191 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0630 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Interview with State Secretary Geza Entz by unidentified studio reporter at the MTV studio in Budapest on 28 October—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] The Serbian foreign minister is holding official talks in Budapest starting today. After his arrival yesterday, Vladislav Jovanovic conferred with representatives of Serbs in Hungary. One of the topics Hungarian politicians are expected to raise is why proportionately more soldiers of Hungarian origin are conscripted into the Yugoslav Army. Our studio guest is State Secretary Geza Entz. Welcome. You will also talk with the Serbian foreign minister. What will you discuss?

[Entz] One of the points has already figured in the news. It is evident that the discussions that our foreign minister is now conducting will not resolve every issue, but it is still very good that we are holding talks. Basic common Serbian and Hungarian interests do exist, just as the interests of all the peoples of the entire region are linked by a common destiny, even though we find it hard to hold hands with each other. The problem of minorities is in this sphere of common interests. Minorities' rights and the relations between the mother country and minorities should be guaranteed by agreements between states.

These communities cannot be treated as hostages, as we have seen throughout the 20th century and are finding in many places today. We must stop this. The discussions must be directed toward a positive development. The discussions can be one of the steps in this process. Incidentally, similar proposals have been heard in the recent past on the Serbian side. So far, we have not seen many practical results.

[Reporter] At these discussions, will the topic be to acquaint one another with the two governments' standpoints, or are you expecting something else?

[Entz] Well, we will try to reach some kind of joint stand with regard to the further progress of the discussions, above all in the interests of the Magyar minorities.

[Reporter] Finally, I want to ask you to interpret your own words. I have here a long report that MTI issued yesterday about your statement to the Austrian news agency, in which, among other things, you say, and I quote: Hungary has no territorial demands vis-a-vis Yugoslavia, but this does not mean that in the event of final solutions [vegleges megoldasok], there could not be changes. How should we understand this?

[Entz] In the statement I gave to the Austrian news agency, I said this not in regard to Hungary and Yugoslavia, but in general, in connection with the Balkan issue. The two statements ended up in one and the same paragraph in the report. If we look at the Balkan issue, or at the Central and East European changes in general, then we find many new things in the present period. One of the guiding principles that is unfolding is the peoples' right to self- determination, which naturally affects all peoples and nations, regardless of size. This requires working out a system of constitutional and interstate guarantees that cannot be resolved against the backdrop of gunfire. That is why our prime minister said yesterday that these issues can only be resolved through European cooperation. It is entirely obvious that, as a result of this, there could be territorial changes as well. For instance, if the international community recognizes the independence of Croatia and Slovenia, there will immediately be the matter of territorial changes.

[Reporter] That is what you meant when you said that everything is possible.

[Entz] That is so.

[Reporter] Mr. State Secretary, thank you very much.

No Possibility of Conflict Seen

LD2710161691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] After several postponements, Serbian Foreign Minister Jovanovic is to arrive in Budapest today, to open talks with his Hungarian colleague. Despite the provocations and border violations, Imre Szokai, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, is certain that relations with Serbia can be settled and that there is no fear of more serious incidents.

[Begin Szokai recording] I do not think that there is any possibility at all of a Hungarian-Yugoslav or Hungarian-Serbian conflict. Despite the fact that Hungary is subjected to continuous provocations, the Hungarian Army, the Hungarian Armed Forces, are not taking any measures that could be misinterpreted or could even be deliberately misinterpreted, and through which the possibility of a more serious provocation or perhaps even an act of aggression would be opened up. Apart from a few very extremist politicians, I do not think that there are any influential political forces in Serbia that would launch a military action against any of Serbia's neighbors. [end recording]

Yugoslavia Blocks Border Crossing at Roszke

LD2510140591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] There are kilometers-long lines at the Hungarian-Yugoslav border near Szeged. Since this morning, the Yugoslavs have not allowed anyone to cross. Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports:

[Ladanyi] The blockage at the Hungarian-Yugoslav border crossing at Roszke is enormous. From the Yugoslav side, virtually without exception, everyone wanting to enter is being turned back. Motorists are showing their green cards, demonstrating that they have valid insurance, but the barrier remains closed. Some who are sent back are given the reason that they do not have sufficient currency, but so far it has been impossible even to establish how many German marks [DM] or dollars they require to cross. Some were asked to show DM300, others DM400-500, whereas many others were turned back without reason. A few were admitted early morning but, since then, virtually no one has crossed the border. Trucks are no exception. A line over four kilometers long has formed on the road to Roszke.

Economic Ties With Slovenia To Be Strengthened

AU2610152591 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Oct p 5

[Interview with Matjaz Sinkovec, chairman of the Slovene Assembly's International Relations Committee, by Botlik in Budapest; date not given: "Slovene Parliamentary Delegation in Hungary—To Strengthen Our Economic Ties"]

[Text] At the invitation of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, the Slovene Assembly's International Relations Committee, led by Chairman Matjaz Sinkovec, visited Hungary. Maria Pozsonec, Slovene legislative representative of the Mura area's Hungarian minority, and Deputy Barbara Zupanc were members of the delegation. The delegation was received by Gyorgy Szabad, chairman of the National Assembly, Balazs Horvath, minister for national minority affairs, and Imre Szokai, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After the visit, we interviewed Matjaz Sinkovec on the negotiations:

[Sinkovec] We are pleased that barely one and a half years after the Slovene elections, we were received in Hungary as the representatives of a de facto independent state. However, we are aware that Slovenia is not yet de jure independent. We understand Hungary's special position on this issue, but it is very important that, along with 10 European countries, your country recognizes the Slovene passport.

[Botlik] How do you see Slovene-Hungarian relations?

[Sinkovec] Our goal, just like yours, is to become involved in European integration. We trust that Slovenia will soon become a member of the European Community soon. We already have strong ties with the area of the Alps and the Adriatic, but we are striving for much stronger cooperation with Hungary than we had before. We are trying to further improve the situation of the Slovene minority in Hungary and the Hungarian minority in Slovenia, because they indeed form a bridge between our countries. The two existing border checkpoints—Lenti-Landava, and Bajansenye-Hodos (Muraszombat) [Murska Sobota]—are not enough, and we need to open new ones. It is very important to establish a direct rail link between Hungary and Slovenia. We also have opportunities in sea transport. I see most possibilities in the coordinated economic development of areas along the border, where we could establish a special economic area with customs free zone.

Condemnation of 1956 Events May Affect Compensation

LD2810101191 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] According to a Defense Ministry spokesman, the fact that, in the last few days, Gorbachev has condemned the Soviet Union's military intervention in Hungary in 1956 could alter the progress of Hungarian-Soviet financial discussions. Gyorgy Keleti also said that we must, in any case, wait until Soviet domestic politics have settled down before the agreement can be made:

[Begin recording] [Unidentifed correspondent] What is the link between the financial balance and the change in the Soviet assessment of Hungary's 1956 [events]?

[Keleti] If the Soviets condemn the fact and consider it impermissible that the Soviet Army took part in the

overthrow of the Revolution and Freedom Struggle in such an aggressive manner, then this also means that they also condemn the damage that they caused in 1956. I think that this also leads to a new negotiating position. We have to reexamine our own standpoint and, in the coming period, we will have to shape a negotiating stand related to this.

[Correspondent] Is it conceivable, after all this, that the damage to our assets in 1956 could also be raised at the discussions?

[Keleti] I think this has to be considered; it has to be examined, and all damage that is realistic and that the Hungarian side finds to be justified will have to be raised. [end recording]

Bilateral Military Agreement Signed With Austria

LD2510223391 Budapest MTI in English 1313 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—Hungary has signed a bilateral military agreement with Austria, the third one with one of its neighbours. Earlier, it concluded similar agreements with Romania and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, it was announced in the Defence Ministry on Friday.

Werner Fasslabend, Austrian federal minister of defence, who arrived in Hungary at the invitation of his opposite number Lajos Fur, told a press conference that the details of the 15-point agreement would be elaborated by the two countries' chiefs of staff.

Fasslabend said the negotiating partners had also discussed the Yugoslavian situation. They agreed that in a crisis situation it was not the task of the neighbouring countries to take any measures since it might seem to be an intervention.

In reply to a question, Defence Minister Lajos Fur said that although the Yugoslavian incursions violated Hungary's sovereignty, Hungary should not be afraid of major border violations or military aggression.

More Regional Agreements Planned

LD2610214891 Budapest MTI in English 1932 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 26 (MTI)—In an effort to guarantee its own security, Hungary seeks to conclude military cooperation agreements with all its neighbours. Such agreements have been reached with Romania, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and, most recently, with Austria. Preparations have been made for concluding a similar agreement with the Soviet Union. The document will likely be signed by the defence ministers, after the Hungarian- Soviet inter-state treaty has been concluded. The only country with which Hungary failed to prepare an agreement like this is Yugoslavia, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, Hungarian Defence Ministry spokesman, told MTI today.

The spokesman's statement followed a Saturday commentary by the TANJUG Yugoslav news agency, dealing with the Austrian-Hungarian agreement on maintaining regular contacts between the two countries' armed forces. The commentary accuses first of all Austria of wishing to intervene in the Yugoslavian situation and, with the recent agreement, involve Hungary as well.

Keleti said the Hungarian-Austrian agreement served the security of the two countries. The related negotiations started last year, well before the Yugoslavian crisis broke out. So the agreement was not concluded because of the Yugoslavian events and is not aimed against Yugoslavia. The agreement envisages to maintain regular contacts and exchange information but does not envisage joint military exercises. The allegation that the agreement is aimed against a third country lacks any foundation.

Hungary initiated last year to conclude a similar agreement with Yugoslavia, which would greatly enhance mutual confidence and contribute to security in Europe. It is supposedly due to the current events in Yugoslavia that so far no answer has arrived, Keleti said.

Antall Previews Visit to NATO, EC Talks

LD2710190791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Peter Szorenyi in Budapest on 27 October—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Jozsef Antall, who will pay his first visit to NATO headquarters in Brussels, reckons that the relations between NATO and East Europe must be shaped in a way that they should not, by any means, represent a threat to the Soviet Union, and the Soviet member republics should also be included in the new European security system. Peter Szorenyi interviewed the prime minister before his departure:

[Szorenyi] What do you expect from this journey? Last time, Secretary General Woerner said that the East European countries will not be admitted to NATO.

[Antall] A basic aim of Hungarian foreign policy is that NATO should be preserved, in a modified, transformed, modernized form, as was announced in London at that time. On the other hand, the U.S. presence should be guaranteed. Therefore, no solution that might disturb or actually exclude the U.S. presence in Europe can be supported. Hungary's joining is out of the question. We can probably achieve a cooperation agreement with its political institution system, and we would also like to achieve as much as possible from the security policy viewpoint. Here, what we must clearly realize and deal with is that the Soviet Union should not see a direct danger from today's NATO; the Soviet Union, too, or the Soviet republics that are becoming independent, must recognize the role of NATO in the framework of the CSCE.

[Szorenyi] What about the EC talks?

[Antall] I hope that this meeting will promote the conclusion this year of the bilateral agreement on the associate membership—as soon as possible, if you like.

Army Wants To Purchase Arms From Germany

LD2510221391 Budapest MTI in English 1752 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—The Hungarian Army wishes to purchase weapons from former GDR Army stocks, Hungarian Defence Ministry State Secretary, Erno Raffay, said at a joint press briefing held with his German counterpart Willy Wimmer today, after talks on military issues.

Decisions on selling arms fall under German Government authority, Wimmer stated. Any resolution, however, must follow an analysis of security policy experiences, he added.

In arms trade, both countries must observe relevant Hungarian and German regulations as well as clauses of the Paris Charter, Raffay said, referring to recent talks on arms purchases conducted by Hungarian Defence Ministry State Secretary Antal Annus in Germany.

Answering a MTI question about how the Yugoslav civil war may influence relevant decisions of the German Government, Wimmer said his country will not export arms to crisis areas. Not intending to aggravate tensions, Bonn wants to display tact in handling the issue.

Wimmer refrained from terming Hungary a crisis region but hinted that the crisis-ridden zone extends beyond the Yugoslav border, reminding that some victims of the Yugoslav civil war had been killed by weapons coming from the former GDR Army. He, however, avoided conjecturing how these weapons found their way into Yugoslavia.

NATO wants to draw East-Central European countries into the European security system so as not to form a defence zone against the Soviet Union, Wimmer said. European security should extend past the eastern borders of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, he added, and go from Vladivostok to San Francisco, he added. "The boundaries of Europe's welfare must be pushed east as far as possible as poverty driven flow of refugees threatens all of us with destability", he said.

Answering a question, Raffay said the formation of an independent Ukrainian Army was a new development. Hungary strives to build the best ties with its neighbours, he said, referring to the significant political results of a recent visit to the Ukraine by Hungarian President Arpad Goncz.

The German delegation headed by Willy Wimmer left Budapest today.

Stricter Measures on Foreign Labor Take Effect

AU2610152891 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Oct 91 p 1

[MTI Report: "Stricter Regulations on Foreign Labor"]

[Text] To protect the labor market more effectively, a decree on foreign labor issued by the minister for labor affairs has taken effect, as has the instruction of the minister for interior that supplements the decree on foreigners staying in Hungary. In the interest of calling people to account more efficiently, the government has also modified its decree on the control of labor affairs.

According to the decree of the minister for labor affairs, labor exchanges can permit the employment of foreigners in cases when no adequately qualified Hungarian worker is available for that job in the given county or in Budapest, and also if the employment of foreigners is absolutely justified by other employment considerations. After consultations with the expert committee of the Interest Coordination Council, the minister for labor affairs can, in a decree, determine the areas of employment where—considering the development and structure of unemployment—foreigners cannot be employed. The labor exchange can refuse a request for employment if the country where the person permanently resides sets stricter conditions for the employment of Hungarians than for citizens of other countries. The employer wishing to employ a foreigner must request the issuance of a labor permit.

Walesa Issues Statement On Election Eve

LD2510215991 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 25—On the eve of the parliamentary elections, Polish President Lech Walesa issued here Friday a statement in which he stressed that today Poland needed peace and that the Sunday elections must be held in peace.

The Polish president said that for some time "we have been witnessing intense activity of people of the Communist system who are trying—with the use of various methods—to come back onto the political stage." Lech Walesa stressed they were trying to make use of the difficult economic situation they led to in a great extent and added it was disgusting how short the memory of co-creators of socialist "giants", obsolete technologies, queues and empty shelves was.

Lech Walesa stressed all this was confirmed by today's demonstration held on the eve of the first democratic elections in the post-war Poland. "Others are planned to be held on the inauguration of the new parliament which is not accidental," he said.

The president wrote the electoral campaign showed how many problems should be solved but he stressed that strikes and demonstrations were in fact only making it difficult to solve them.

At the end of his statement, Lech Walesa said the new government would at once deal with things that were painful for the nation. "New possibilities of action will open up for the Parliament, the Government and the president. But in order to achieve this we must be responsible and self-controlled. I am appealing for this again. The Polish reason of state requires this. The necessity to maintain legal and constitutional order," he wrote.

Bielecki on State of Country Prior to Elections

LD2510215391 Warsaw PAP in English 1354 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 25—Polish Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki in an extensive interview published by the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily on Friday assessed the state of the country, hours before Sunday parliamentary elections.

Speaking on Poland's international position, Bielecki said that the country has found itself in a family of democratic European states having ever more better relations with its neighbours as well as with other European countries.

Bielecki stressed that cooperation between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary is of fundamental importance for Poland's future in regional scale, as well as for joint strategy in negotiations on the association (with the EC) and for joint strategy in negotiations on the security clause with the Soviet Union.

"The second element is our strive to become a member of the European Community and to participate in democratic structures of Europe—the Council of Europe, and in the future in the European Parliament, West European Union. Those are also the best economic contacts. Treaties or declarations which we have signed, like the one with Great Britain, are also an achievement. There is also the question of the opening to the east. I think that we will have the best security clause with the Soviet Union, in tune with the standards of international law, among all states," stressed Bielecki.

"Extremely important are our perfect relations with the United States, greater understanding of our will, which at the start was a one-sided will to look for ties with NATO. It is not a question of aiming for membership, but a will for dialogue between NATO and our countries."

Discussing Poland's internal affairs the premier said that the state of the country in terms of internal security was reflected by the state of the Army and police. "I think that the Army has still not gone through the process of reforms, we did not succeed in appointing a civilian (defence) minister, where this would be the first sign of changes. In a certain sense, the state is already weakened by the prolonging election campaign and in reality by the lack of free elections. It is also weakened by the lack of white-collar staff, while society has a tendency to think in the category of group interests and not in the category of the state."

"We are paying the price for being pioneers of transformations... We are making numerous mistakes as the first ones. We have two roads, to rapidly increase the printing of money and use this method to boost the economy and meet social demands or decide on even greater sacrifices and stringent rules. The state of the country makes that such radical decisions must be adopted," said the premier.

Election Commission Expects Returns by 30 Oct

LD2610034691 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—Head of the State Electoral Commission Andrzej Zoll told the last news conference before the Sunday parliamentary elections that the preparations for the voting made him be optimistic about their course although some cases of resignation from work in electoral commissions aroused concern.

Preliminary results of voting are to be known on Monday evening or Tuesday morning but official returns should be expected on Wednesday, October 30, at the earliest as the State Electoral Commission will have to compare computer data with protocols on voting and then distribute mandates from national lists.

Zoll also said that the expenditure on the elections was estimated at 250 billion zlotys (22 million dollars) but the actual spending will be known after the ballot.

A total of 6,988 candidates representing 112 election committees set up by political parties, social and union organizations, and independent electors, are running for 460 seats in the lower house. 391 deputies will be elected in 37 constituencies while 69 will receive mandates from 27 national lists.

A total of 612 candidates are contending for 100 seats in the Senate. Three senators will be elected in the provinces of Warsaw and Katowice and two in each of the remaining provinces.

On Friday, the closing day of the election campaign, candidates for MPs held their last meetings with the electorate reiterating their earlier declarations.

Leader of the Centre Alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski repeated in the eastern city of Lublin his stand on the role of the Catholic Church in Poland. "The Sunday election will settle the dispute over the spiritual shape of our national life," he said adding that the church was the only chance to overcome moral crisis and therefore his party was going to defend it on the political plane.

Kaczynski's twin brother, Lech, also of the Centre Alliance, concentrated on economic issues when meeting residents of Tarnobrzeg in south-eastern Poland. He opted for a privatization based on a distribution of shares in enterprises to all citizens.

Mieczyslaw Gil, the leader of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP) said in Warsaw that, if re-elected, he would like to form a presidential lobby in the Parliament and opined that tendencies for creating a solidarity alliance in a future Sejm might be expected.

Meanwhile, Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski said in Szczecin, north-western Poland, his union did not aspire to ruling but wanted to defend working people in the Parliament.

Referring to the latest allegations on a communist plot in Poland, leader of the post-Communist Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) Aleksander Kwasniewski stated in the southern city of Krakow the Poles should not succumb to hatred to which the present political campaign leads and observed that people should not be destroyed, regardless of the idea that accompanies it.

Candidates View Possible Post-Election Coalitions

LD2510074691 Warsaw PAP in English
0202 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—As the electoral campaign to the Parliament is nearing its end, candidates for deputies and senators talked at their last meetings with the electorate about possibilities for post-election coalitions.

According to leader of the Liberal Democratic Congress (KL-D) Donald Tusk the post-election alignment in the Parliament and government without participation of his party would not be a tragedy for them.

"We do not aim at participation in the government at any price. Neither are we much interested in forming coalitions that would not reflect results of voting," he stated at a news conference on Thursday but admitted that liberals would like to hold privatization and other economic ministries.

Asked about post-election coalitions, Tusk stated that Poland needed an alliance of Solidarity-originating parties, such as the Liberal Democratic Congress, the Democratic Union (UD) and the Centre Alliance (PC), but excluded cooperation with the post-communist Social Democratic Party (SDRP).

He also stated that present Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki was the only candidate of the party for premiership.

Meanwhile, Bielecki told a meeting at Warsaw University there were many wonderful young people in the Liberal Democratic Congress and encouraged the youth to be more active promising them his help.

Leader of the Realpolitics Union Janusz Korwin-Mikke told an electoral meeting in the western city of Poznan his party did not want posts in a future government but a strong position in the parliament. "I think that a future parliament will be confused, and our party, which has a clear programme and thoroughly worked out draft laws, will dominate in it," he stated.

Addressing his electorate in the central city of Lodz, Centre Alliance leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski criticized parties which questioned the role of the Catholic Church in Poland listing among them the post-communist left, liberals, the Demcoratic Union and the Labour Solidarity (SP).

Kaczynski also questioned the positive assessment of the Polish foreign policy saying it was not bold enough and charging that many mistakes had been made in it over the past two years.

Another leading candidate for MP, Tadeusz Mazowiecki who chairs the Democratic Union elaborated on the future of large state enterprises. "We think uncompetitive enterprises must go bankrupt, but good ones should be given a chance. A number of state enterprises will survive and they will have to function well," he told an electoral meeting in Poznan.

Meanwhile, leader of the Christian Social Union (UCHS) Kazimierz Morawski appealed to UCHS members and sympathizers to vote for Democratic Union candidates in those districts where UCHS had not got separate lists.

Residents of the countryside who make 40 per cent of the Polish people should also hold 40 per cent of seats in a future parliament, leaders of the Peasant Alliance (PL) told newsmen in Warsaw. They pledged their candidates, if elected, would protect Polish agriculture and aim at normalization in Poland and an efficient rule. They are also going to counteract unemployment and the growing

impoverishment of people as well as oppose the selling out of national property to foreign capital.

Center Alliance's Kaczynski Views Election Issues

PM2510141991 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 19-20 Oct 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Center Alliance leader and head of the President's Chancellery, by correspondent Henryk Sroczynski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sroczynski] Many of those who supported Solidarity in the past are now saying that they are disappointed with it. They expected an improvement in the living standard. Whose fault is it that our life is more difficult now? Was it not the consequence of the moves made by dilettante politicians and economists?

[Kaczynski] There is no simple answer to this question. The process of transition to a normal economic and political system is painful by definition. Very few people realized this truth, and as they were not aware of it, it was not easy to tell them about it during the election campaign in 1989. Tell me: How could we have conducted an election campaign under the slogan: Things Will Get Even Worse...? Such a prospect would have been unacceptable.

[Sroczynski] Do you believe that the past two years really had to be as bad as they were?

[Kaczynski] Let us first ask the following question: Why did the communists hand over their power to us so readily? There is not the slightest doubt that they knew full well—or at least their leadership and decisionmaking centers knew—that the economy was tumbling into ruin. They did not perceive any future development prospects for it. However, the taking over of power by Solidarity opened such prospects up. Of course, we could argue over whether the condition of our economy really had to deteriorate as much as it did over the past two years. I do not believe it was inevitable.

[Sroczynski] Your party, the Center Alliance, places the blame for this state of affairs on Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz's shoulders...

[Kaczynski] We believe that it was necessary to bring the Balcerowicz Plan into effect. Superinflation had to be curbed, and the zloty needed to be made convertible.... This provided the solid basis for the implementation of rational economic principles. However, beginning with the middle of last year, certain conditions arose that allowed us to pursue a more active economic policy. Unfortunately, these conditions were not exploited and, consequently, recession tendencies assumed a permanent quality. To make things worse, there is a "vicious circle" force at work here: The absence of demand feeds the recession, which in turn causes a further decline of the market's absorption capacity. Thus, the circle becomes closed, and we cannot see an end to this situation. Nor do I agree with the claim that it is only the weak and poorly managed enterprises that go bankrupt. Sound enterprises are liable to fail, too, even those that enjoy a favorable financial situation. The problem lies in their inability to recover the debts owed to them, which in some cases amounts to 30 billion zloty and more! This is why our party has put forward the project of a major salvage operation to help these enterprises....

[Sroczynski] Would it not, then, have been advisable to conduct certain economic operations and launch certain economic processes at a slower pace?

[Kaczynski] It would not have given us any advantage, apart from the fact that the pain would have lasted longer. And when the pain is prolonged, the patient is liable to faint. Contrary to certain people's imaginings, Poland could not have survived with the economic system only slightly modified and with the economic development in a suspended "frozen" condition. Both the economy and the state would then be undermined, and the state would be easily transformed into a colonial structure.

[Sroczynski] Assuming that the "mission" undertaken by Counselor Jan Olszewski last December had been successful, do you believe that the "turning-point government" that Olszewski was proposing to form would have shown a more successful record today?

[Kaczynski] I am convinced that the situation would have been decidedly better—which, of course, is not to say that Poland would necessarily "blossom." Nevertheless, the situation would be better, also in the political sphere. We would have had the parliamentary election by now.

[Sroczynski] Would a government formed by Counselor Olszewski have been able to overcome inflation?

[Kaczynski] An earlier election, combined with other related political changes, would have enabled us to fight and overcome—at least partly—existing recession tendencies and to open up new and better defined prospects for the economy. Even so, I must stress here that I see no prescription for working an economic miracle in Poland.

[Sroczynski] Does the Center Alliance continue to adhere to those "December concepts" even today?

[Kaczynski] Yes. We are still faithful to them. Moreover—barring some exigencies of a higher nature—we will not join a government that declares itself bound to realize other concepts. But we will not interfere in its operation, either.

[Sroczynski] Are you not surprised at the progress and image of the election campaign to date? It appears very colorless and monotonous....

[Kaczynski] I did hope that the campaign would be more dynamic and intensive, and that it would have a higher public profile. Whereas... as we can see, everyone involved in it seems to address his own audience alone. I would have seen the campaign as a fighting tournament between the several major political groups in Poland.

For example, I would have envisaged a debate between the Democratic Union, the Center Alliance, the Liberals, and the post-communist Social Democrats. We could have sat on a platform behind our respective desks and had a vigorous argument. Unfortunately, there is a legal restriction prohibiting such use of television broadcasting time devoted to election campaigns. Another weakness of this campaign is that it lacks clearly defined party programs and clearly defined adversaries. This is, in my opinion, the direct result of the shockingly poorly prepared electoral law, which was drawn up with the firm intention to cause damage to Polish democracy.

[Sroczynski] Are you not afraid that the new Sejm will be less efficient than the one we have now?

[Kaczynski] The present Sejm has one fundamental flaw, in addition to the fact that it was undemocratically elected: It has no democratic mechanism operating within its system. I am thinking here of arrangements which are normal in other countries: The parliamentary majority is responsible for making decisions pertaining to the ruling of the state, whereas the executive power is controlled by the minority. We have no comparable system at all. True, the government receives excellent returns in the ballot over the question of the vote of confidence, but... the implementation of parliamentary laws is still postponed, or else the laws are altered, or even altogether "sunk." I believe that, in the new parliament, we will have the clear situation that when a coalition is set up, it will provide a reliable backup base for the government.

[Sroczynski] Do you want your party to score sufficient success in the coming election to be able to form a government? Or, considering the very difficult situation we are in now, would you prefer your party to remain in opposition?

[Kaczynski] I would like our party to win, because we have a clearly defined plan, and we believe that we can help Poland in the present situation. This is not to say that we would refuse to assume the role of an opposition party. However, we are realists. Opinion polls already suggest that we will not be forming the government by ourselves.

[Sroczynski] Why have you been dwelling on the subject of decommunization so much in the present election campaign?

[Kaczynski] Decommunization is in the interests of the whole country, including the 3 million people who were involved or connected with the [Polish United Workers] party. On the other hand, it might turn out to be against the interests of some tens of thousands of others. Decommunization would entail two distinct processes. The first involves the economic sphere. It is here that a major portion of the national assets was seized on the principle of non-equivalent remuneration. Some of these assets can still be recovered. Another aspect of decommunization within this sphere is necessitated by the fact that specific setups have been created here that, so to speak, demoralize the economy. This aspect ties in closely with the question of the public sense of justice. People see that those who profited from the old setups and arrangements now profit far more from the new "mega-setups and arrangements." This is also highly demoralizing. However, there is also another, supraeconomic sphere of decommunization. This is the "zone" of state institutions that must be submitted to extensive "cleanup operations." We are talking about the judiciary, the prosecutors' offices, the Army, and, in particular, the special services. We are also talking about the whole press network, which is largely the product of the previous system.... I recently talked with Mr. Nowak-Jezioranski, who made the following admission: "You and I are at odds over many questions, but I must concede that in one area you are absolutely right—when you criticize the policy of the 'thick line' [reference to Mazowiecki's controversial policy of 'amnesty' for the former system's nomenklatura]. Recently, an American who took part in de-Nazification operations after the breakup of the Third Reich, told me that if they had not carried out that operation, the Nazis would still be ruling Germany today.

[Sroczynski] What are the major, substantive differences between the Center Alliance and the Democratic Union?

[Kaczynski] There are four fundamental differences that separate these two parties. First, the attitude toward such values as the church, religion, national tradition, and so on. There is a question here that ties in with these problems: How are we to join Europe? The Center Alliance takes the stand that was so superbly expressed by the Pope: We are in Europe already, and if we want to join European structures, we intend to join them expressly as Poles, bringing with us our Polish experience and our Polish national tradition.... We do not believe that we should give these up. The Democratic Union, on the other hand, favors an abstract model of a hybrid Europe, which is altogether unclear and undefined. They are very hostile to our traditions.

The second question over which we differ is our attitude toward decommunization. The third concerns our position on Leszek Balcerowicz. We believe that the Balcerowicz plan belongs to the past and that the time has come to pursue an active economic policy. The fourth set of questions that generates differences between us involves our views on the methods of practical action. There are voices in the Democratic Union claiming that the severity of punishment for crimes is unrelated to the scale of criminality in society. At least this is what Jacek Kuron maintained in the Sejm forum. We hold a different opinion: When the crime rate increases—as it is increasing in our society now—we must punish the offenders, and we must even increase the severity of punitive measures. We should also give greater powers to the police. Crime creates an extremely "attractive" model of life for young people. I am not talking about petty crime, but about the more serious type of offenses. I visited Bialystok recently, and I noticed the large number of young men, of about 18 years or so, who already own and drive BMW automobiles. We all know what kind of criminal activity offers access to such cars.

We also differ greatly from the Union in the matter of the principles of the penitentiary system. They tend to concentrate their attention on whether criminals are badly treated in prisons, whereas we want to put up a firm and determined resistance to crime itself by creating effective deterrents.

[Sroczynski] How do you plan your political future?

[Kaczynski] I am certainly not mapping it out here, at the President's Chancellery. I would like to continue as leader of our party for at least a while longer. Without wishing to sound conceited, I can say that I am certain that the Center Alliance would benefit if I were able to devote more time to it in the future. And later... perhaps I will move on to other things. I do not aspire to government posts, even if the government were to be formed by Counselor Jan Olszewski.

Reportage on 27 Oct Parliamentary Election Results

Democratic Union Projected Winner

LD2810024791 Warsaw PAP in English 0024 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—The Democratic Union led by former Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki won the first fully free and democratic parliamentary elections in Poland in 63 years with 13.4 per cent of votes which gives it 75 seats in the Sejm (lower house) according to preliminary results published by the German INFAS agency on Sunday night. Basing on polls conducted at 600 of the over 22,000 polling stations nationwide, INFAS estimated the next positions were taken by the post-Communist Alliance of the Democratic Left (12.9 per cent of votes and 52 seats) and the Catholic Electoral Action (9.4 per cent and 49 seats). The three came ahead of the Confederation for Independent Poland (9.1 per cent, 50 seats), the Citizens Centre Alliance (8.8 per cent, 46 seats), the Liberal Democratic Congress (7.9 per cent, 39 seats), the Polish Peasant Party—Programmatic Alliance (6.9 per cent, 46 seats), and the Solidarity trade union (5.3 per cent, 30 seats). Official preliminary results will be made public by the State Electoral Commission on Monday while final official returns should be expected on Wednesday or Thursday.

In the first fully free elections after the fall of communism a total of 6,988 candidates nominated by 112 election committees, set up by political parties, social and union organizations and independent groups of electors, were running for 460 seats in the lower house, or Sejm, while 612 candidates contended for 100 seats in the Senate. No preliminary results on the voting for senators were published.

In cold gloomy weather on Sunday, only some 40 per cent of Poles turned out at polling stations according to preliminary estimates. This may be partly due to the disillusionment of the Poles with the current politics and partly to the difficulties in identyfying with any of the great number of parties. However, head of the State Electoral Commission Andrzej Zoll was satisfied with the course of voting saying the most important thing was that democracy won.

The course of voting in Warsaw, Gdansk, Poznan and Krakow was observed by a mission from the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe who were also present at counting votes. The 10-strong group of parliamentarians from Strasbourg is to draft a report basing on which a decision will be made on admitting Poland to the Council of Europe.

For the first time national minorities in Poland were able to run in the elections as independent political forces.

Wiktor Stachowiak, a candidate to the Sejm of the Belorussian election committee in the north-eastern town of Bialystok considered it very important that the Polish people could learn the Belorussians lived by their side. "If national minorities were provided greater opportunities to appear in mass media, a lot of conflicts and distrust would disappear from public life," he opined. Also the Ukrainian minority in Poland went to the polls on Sunday to "choose best candidates who would first of all care about the interest of the state. As Polish citizens of the Ukrainian nationality we are against all divisions among the people and national quarrels that lead to nothing good," Maria Liskiw, running for deputy in Insko, north-western province of Szczecin, said while leader of the Ukrainians union in the south-eastern town of Przemysl Jerzy Stabiszewski opined that a new parliament would bring much good to the neighbouring nations of Poland and the independent Ukraine.

Following the appeal of Poland's episcopate for a mass participation in the elections, the clergy, nuns and monks went in large numbers to polling stations "expecting that a new parliament will create better things for the homeland and the nation," as a nun from Przemysl said. Also the non-Roman Catholic Churches in Poland took part in the voting stressing the patriotic character of the act and hoping for the most favourable development of Poland in full democracy.

Meanwhile, the provincial election commission in the central city of Lodz was notified that people leaving churches after Sunday masses were instructed how to vote for Catholic candidates. Such cases of electioneering, contrary to the election law, were reported in two election districts in Lodz. Also in Bydgoszcz, central Poland, the Solidarity election committee protested against illegal electioneering by the Christian Democratic Party and the Catholic Electoral Action enclosing as a proof leaflets distributed in some of the Bydgoszcz Roman Catholic Churches. Another protest against violating the election law was filed by the Democratic Union (UD) who accused the Centre Alliance (PC) of holding election campaign on Sunday. Plenipotentiary of the party in the western city of Poznan Andrzej Machowski said a brochure that PC followers distributed in the city contained a slanderous material on UD leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki and some other leading politicians, Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki among them. As

the publication insulted the prime minister and members of his cabinet, we have notified the police about the offence, Machowski said.

Not all Poles considered the elections as a patriotic duty. In Nowa Huta, outside the southern city of Krakow, a dozen-or-so strong group of anarchists called for boycotting the voting and burnt ballots while in Tarnobrzeg, south-eastern Poland, election posters were torn down and information boards demolished Saturday night.

Democratic Union Leaders Comment

LD2710225791 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2033 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Studio interview with Democratic Union Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Bronislaw Geremek, and Jacek Kuron by correspondent Jacek Kurski on the "Election Studio" program—live]

[Text] [Mazowiecki] The Democratic Union is coming out of these elections as the first party. We are pleased with this fact. We thank the electors who supported us. We will be bringing into the public life of Poland a firmness in the implementation of further political and economic reforms in political culture and in disputes and concern for poor people. We are ready to immediately move to talks on the creation of a majority coalition.

[Kurski] With whom?

[Mazowiecki] I am authorized to begin such talks. I hope that all parties and groupings born in Solidarity and oriented in a reformist way will join these talks.

[Kurski] Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, you have more than once recently declared that the office of prime minister should fall to the head of that grouping that garners the greatest number of votes. Does, however, this small dominance, resting on the fact that the total sum of two successive parties after yours exceeds your vote, authorize such a thing, the maintenance of such declarations?

[Mazowiecki] Sir, one can assess dominance in various ways. One can say that the next party has 50 percent less. This is calculated in various ways, and it may be calculated variously. It is a specific political will that is significant, to call upon those values, those groupings that we feel should undertake further responsibility and create a majority coalition. We have such a will. Next Sunday, the Council of the Democratic Union will gather and will finally decide on this.

[Kurski] We think that our viewers are very interested in what specific Solidarity parties you have in mind.

[Mazowiecki] I have in mind the spectrum of parties arising out of Solidarity with which we wish to talk. We do not exclude anyone here, we invite everyone to talks.

[Kurski] There is talk of a struggle for power within the Democratic Union. Recently, in Kielce, Professor Geremek declared that he will not decline the office of prime minister. Earlier, Mr. Kuron said the same thing. These gentlemen are here today. Can we clarify this?

[Geremek] I will indeed reply. It seems to me that Jacek Kurski is so interested in his own thoughts that he is incapable of reading the newspapers. Because I clearly said in the newspaper what the point is, and I said the same in Kielce, that the Democratic Union is a responsible party. And a responsible party is ready to begin such activities as it is appropriate to begin. There are people in the Democratic Union who are capable of undertaking such obligations. I added that there are those who are better for this office than me. I judged that this was a clear formulation.

[Kurski] To recapitulate what you said, the Democratic Union wants to be the ruling party?

[Mazowiecki] You can put it that way. We want to form a majority that could be a stable majority, as we feel that Poland needs a stable government. We judge that all the forces arising out of Solidarity will feel this responsibility at this moment and understand it.

[Kuron] That is, we very clearly specify the conditions. This must be a government with a parliamentary majority. This must be a government that is and will be capable of cooperating with the president, or vice-versa, one with which the president will be capable of cooperating. The stability of the state is the supreme consideration.

[Kurski] But after the results that we are seeing, do you see any sort of possibility for the creation of such a majority?

[Kuron] This is too early for you to ask me for ideas.

Walesa, Leaders View Forecasts

LD2810010291 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—Commenting on the first forecasts of returns in the Sunday parliamentary elections, Polish President Lech Walesa said "one might have expected this after the period when so few problems had been solved. One might have expected the people will be divided." The forecasts showed the early lead for the Democratic Union (UD) of former Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, ahead of the Centre Citizens Alliance (POC) and the post-Communist Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD). Stating that after 20 years since his first strike in 1970 his dreams of democratic and free Poland were fulfilled, Walesa observed Poland faced enormous problems but the Poles had possibilities to influence the favourable development of their homeland. "I deeply believe the Third Republic of Poland that is beginning today, fully free, will meet all these requirements and needs. Many problems I had to settle were so difficult it was impossible to solve them in the evolutionary way. (But) we have not got too many losses and we can make them up," President Walesa stated. He added that if the turnout at the elections were to be below 70 per cent it would show the sad fact the Poles

were unable to use their newly-gained freedom. Meanwhile, leader of the Democratic Union Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated he had been authorized by the party authorities to start talks on forming a majority coalition. Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, commenting on the 7.5 percent votes gained by his Liberal Democratic Congress (KL-D), voiced satisfaction that the saying of difficult and unpopular things won many followers. "The Congress did what it had promised, and it promised a bitter truth and a long march. Now it is time to start work," Bielecki said.

Leader of the Centre Alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski stated the elections proved decommunization was necessary but difficult to carry. "The results are a warning the direction we took in 1989 but failed to correct in 1990, is a road to an abyss," he said adding that past quarrels should be forgotten. "Either this Parliament will have a great sense of responsibility or it will last a few months only," Kaczynski stated. The PC leader considered the results a success considering "mass attacks against his party from various directions."

"The most difficult things are ahead of all of us," secretary general of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP), which took the surprising third position in the first forecasts, Leszek Miller stated adding that the elections were a great historical event but did not solve any of the current social problems. The high position of the post-Communist party aroused concern of Secretary General of the Christian National Union (ZCH-N) Wlodzimierz Dobrowolski. He was however satisfied with the fifth place of the Catholic Electoral Action, grouping right-wing Catholic parties, and opined that parties which were ahead of the coalition had to reckon now with its power. Leader of the Freedom Party (PW) Kornel Morawiecki was dissatisfied and surprised with the results in which his party was beaten by the Polish Party of Beer Lovers (PPPP). "It is sad, as we, people coming from the fighting Solidarity ranks, did much more for the contemporary history of Poland than beer lovers," he said bitterly. The high, sixth, position of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) is attributed to blocking its lists with three other parties, namely the Peasant Christian Bloc, the Polish Western Union, and the Polish Green Party. In each case KPN reserved the first mandate within the bloc for itself.

Presidential Spokesman on Vote

LD2710140491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Interview with Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski by unidentified correspondents at the No. 108 Gdansk District Electoral Commission polling station on 27 October—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Drzycimski] What is extremely important in these elections is society's participation. If society supports the solution of opening up to reforms, this will be the next step towards normalization. Up to now, we have been involved in political battles, battles that brought into existence over 100 parties. We must tell ourselves clearly that this is a transitory situation. It will only begin to normalize after these elections. Our country's situation also requires that we tell ourselves clearly which direction we wish to go. It is precisely the task of Parliament to delineate this direction, and that is why it is important for those who, at this moment, today, are going to the polls, to give their votes to those people whom they trust, those about whom they can say: first, that they represent them; second, that they express the spirit of the Polish nation; and third, that they are people whom we fully trust as people, so that things don't stay as they have been up to now, where our parliament, although elected in a difficult, specific situation—a very important, breakthrough parliament—was, however, never responsible to anyone. Society expects this parliament to be answerable to the nation, and this is a requirement of the times. A strong parliament will be able to form strong executive authorities, authorities that will be able to implement the things Parliament has decided. The president hopes and expects that this cooperation between the Parliament and the president will be very fruitful, and that together, a program will be worked out that may be implemented at the very difficult, breakthrough moment we are now in.

[Correspondent] And what do you predict? What will the turnout be like in these elections?

[Drzycimski] I think that the turnout will be higher than in every democratic country in Western Europe. However, it most certainly will not be the turnout that we have up to now become accustomed to, that is, the 90 percent that occured in the previous period. It is a natural thing that in a normal democratic system, people make a free choice. There is not even moral pressure, which, in fact, may be seen in today's elections, in these first electoral hours, and I hope that the turnout will be high enough for precisely those people who represent the Polish spirit, the Polish nation, to sit in the next parliament.

[Correspondent] Will the president spend today in Gdansk, or will he go to the Belvedere Palace?

[Drzycimski] No, he will certainly return to the Belvedere Palace, in order to be there before the end of the elections. We also expect him to give a live interview to Polish Television just after 2000 (1900 GMT).

PAP Updates Projections

LD2710230891 Warsaw PAP in English 2036 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—According to the early estimates presented by the German INFAS agency and the OBOP [Public Opinion Research Center] public opinion polling centre shortly after 2000 hours on Sunday the Democratic Union which won 14.5 per cent of votes emerged as the leading party in Poland's first free parliamentary elections after more than half a century.

The Democratic Union was followed by the Citizens' Centre Alliance, the Alliance of the Democratic Left and the Polish Peasant Party—Programmatic Alliance which won 9.5 per cent of votes each.

The three came ahead of the Catholic Electoral Action (9 per cent), the Liberal Democratic Congress (7.5 per cent), the Confederation for Independent Poland (7.5 per cent), the Solidarity Union (5.8 per cent), the Peasant Alliance (5.1 per cent), the Christian Democracy (3.3 per cent), the Polish Party of Beer Friends (2.8 per cent) and the Solidarity of Labour (2.3 per cent).

The INFAS and OBOP survey indicates that the Democratic Union should win 76 mandates, the Alliance of the Democratic Left—51 mandates and the Citizens' Centre Alliance—50.

The Polish Peasant Party—Programmatic Alliance and the Confederation of Independent Poland should obtain 49 mandates each whereas the Catholic Electoral Action can count on 48 mandates and the Liberal-Democratic Congress on 39.

Solidarity trade union can expect to have 28 deputies in the new parliament, the Polish Party of Beer Friends—14 and the Christian Democrats and the Solidarity of Labour—13 deputies each.

Commenting on the election results President Lech Walesa told Polish TV that he had expected Polish society to be divided. He expressed hope, however, that the turnout will prove to be high. "It will sadden me if the turnout is lower than 70 per cent," he said.

28 Oct Projections Reported

LD2810094291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0700 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] The latest estimated results of the 27 October parliamentary elections are as follows, according to the German public opinion research institute INFAS:

Party	Percentage of Vote
Democratic Union	13.3
Democratic Left Alliance	13.1
Catholic Electoral Action	9.4
Confederation for Independent Poland	9.1
Citizen's Center Alliance	8.8
Liberal Democratic Congress	7.9

According to INFAS, approximately 40 percent of persons entitled to vote participated in yesterday's parliamentary elections. Preliminary Sejm and Senate election results are expected today.

Worldwide Voter Turnout Viewed

LD2810025791 Warsaw PAP in English 2351 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—Polish voters scattered in many countries all over the world seem to be well aware that their participation in democratic government consists above all in casting ballots on the election day. In the past the Poles were either pushed to vote, sometimes they were boycotting elections, but now, despite apparent tiredness with politics in general, the turnout in voting centres abroad was probably higher than expected.

Only early reports from the main election centres in the United States say that the turnout was three times lower than in the presidential election last year. 8,700 Polish people went to the polls in Chicago, New York, and the rest of the 24 polling centres in the United States. Unofficial results show that four parties: Democratic Union, (UD), Citizens' Alliance Centrum (POC) and the Liberal-Democratic Congress, and the Catholic Electoral Action all together won nearly 75 percent of votes in the United States. Legendary wartime "courier from Warsaw" Jan Nowak-Jezioranski (born in 1913 and residing in the United States) said he was for the first time voting in elections to the Polish parliament because he was too young in 1932 and he boycotted the next elections in 1935 as the then adopted electoral law ruled out any opposition, he said. The elections in the United States were held on Saturday because of the time difference.

The Polish electorate in Moscow consists of about six thousand construction workers, students, and visiting research workers who were voting in Magnitogorsk (Ural), Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Lvov, Minsk, and other centres.

Polish voters in Britain were seriously taking the first free parliamentary elections in Poland but the turnout was rather hard to estimate at the moment because many people found it difficult to produce sufficient identification documents. Former Polish president in exile Edward Raczynski appealed for a mass turnout which is the foundation of economic success and Western confidence in Polish democratic institutions.

In Rome, nearly all the 2,000-strong Polish electorate appeared at the polls before noon. Some Polish nationals in Vilnius, Lithuania, were disappointed when not allowed to cast ballots because they did not have Polish citizenship. Over 80 percent of Polish voters in Belgrade came to the Polish Embassy to vote despite serious transportation difficulties caused by the unrest. The Democratic Union unofficially leads in Beijing little ahead of the Democratic Left Alliance.

The tiny Polish community in Chile took an emotional approach to the elections. Now they are anxiously waiting for official results. Chilean press showed great interest in the event and voting was also shown by local television.

Troop Withdrawal Treaty Initialed in Moscow

LD2610120991 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] At this moment, Jerzy Makarczyk and Yuriy Deryabin, the deputy ministers of foreign affairs of Poland and the Soviet Union, are initialing a treaty and supplementary documents in Moscow on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. Here is our correspondent Andrzej Sierzieniewski:

[Sierzieniewski] This document is the first materiel result of the Polish-Soviet talks held on this issue since midway through last November. After 12 rounds of difficult consultations, the deadlines for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our country's territory have finally been settled. Combat units will leave Poland by 15 November of next year, and the remaining detachments will withdraw before the end of 1993, with the proviso that their numbers on 1 January 1993 must not exceed 6,000 persons, and at the beginning of the last quarter of that year must not exceed 3,000 persons.

It was not easy to fix the deadlines. For many months, the two sides' stances were so far apart that their rapprochement seemed very difficult. The breakthrough only occurred after the August events in Moscow. The Soviet side began to show greater flexibility, which made the negotiations easier.

Today's ceremony concludes only one strand in the Polish-Soviet talks. An agreement on the transit of Soviet troops from Germany through our territory; an agreement regulating the financial, ecological, and legal aspects of withdrawing the detachments, and several lesser documents e.g. a protocol on the sale of Soviet movable goods to the Polish side, are at an advanced stage.

The next meeting on these matters is planned for mid-November.

Makarczyk: Soviet Coup Helped Troop Withdrawal

LD2710092591 Warsaw PAP in English 0826 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Jerzy Makarczyk claims that the fiasco of Soviet coup d'etat last August helped to speed up agreement on Soviet troop withdrawal from Poland, initialled in Moscow on Saturday.

"Had it not been for the coup we would not have reached that far as we did," Makarczyk told newsmen at Warsaw's Okecie airport after his return from Moscow.

Under the treaty, all Soviet combat troops will leave Polish territory by November 1992 and back-up forces within another year.

According to Makarczyk the treaty can be signed after the signing of a financial protocol resolving the question of the property of the Soviet Army left in Poland and ecological losses caused by that Army in this country.

The Polish deputy foreign minister hopes the protocol can be agreed in Warsaw in November during another, 13th round of talks as, he believes, the initialling of the treaty has produced a real breakthrough in the negotiations.

The Polish side insists on the Soviet Union paying 70 million Swiss francs for the transit of Soviet units from Germany.

Lithuanian Prime Minister: No Cause for Tensions

LD2610194491 Warsaw PAP in English 1706 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 26—Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania Gediminas Vagnorius, who made a few-hour stopover here Saturday on his journey from Vilnius to the U.S., told newsmen he could not understand real causes of recent tension in Polish-Lithuanian relations.

"I cannot see any objective reasons due to which the relations have worsened," he said and stressed that it was not very difficult to spread discord between nations. He also added that as far as the issue of minorities was concerned the two countries should adhere to international norms.

Asked about the establishing of the so-called great Vilnius area at the expense of local Polish-dominated administrative units, the Lithuanian premier said that changes in the administrative division of Lithuania were not examined by the government and parliament at the moment.

Gediminas Vagnorius did not speak about the Lithuanian minority in Poland but added this did not mean he was not interested in the situation of his compatriots in this country.

Next the premier said his country would use all possible ways and means to join Europe and added that "a journey to Brussels could also lead via Warsaw."

Stolojan Promises Elections Before Year's End

AU2710135591 Paris AFP in English 0903 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, Oct 27 (AFP)—Romanians will vote "before the end of the year" in the first local government elections of the post-Communist era, new Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan said in an interview with French journalists here.

Stolojan told the correspondents of AFP and the influential daily LE MONDE that he favoured December 15 as the date for the polls to renew municipal and regional councils still dominated by the Communist old-guard.

Under the present system, mayors are appointed by the government and the ruling National Salvation Front never kept a promise it made to hold local elections last year.

"We will ask parliament to work a bit harder to get the election legislation passed in time for December 15. But in the end, it all depends on the legislators," Stolojan said.

Stolojan, a liberal economist who goes under a "non-party" label, stressed his determination to carry through reforms "indispensable to clarify" the functions of the Romanian economy—notably the introduction of a "single exchange rate" for the national currency the leu (plural lei).

He said the present official rate of 60 lei for a dollar and the free inter-bank rate of nearly 300 lei to a dollar were "both artificial." The new single rate would be "somewhere between" the two values, he said.

"I am happy to say that between now and November 10, the group of 24 (the OECD and international financial institutions) are expected to approve a loan which will give us the necessary foreign exchange reserves to carry through this operation," Stolojan said.

The prime minister who is charged with leading a "broadbased" government up to new legislative elections scheduled for next year, said that if he had not replaced Petre Roman after a violent miners' strike at the end of September, he would have taken up a job on October 28 with "an international financial organistion"—the World Bank according to reliable sources.

Stolojan said he had now arranged "with this organistion to start work after the general elections.... My personal task will be to broaden my knowledge of market functions and get an overall view of the various forms of market economy."

Stolojan resigned last April as finance minister in the Roman cabinet, in protest at the pace of price liberalisation which he considered too slow. He then took charge of privatising state-owned enterprises.

Stolojan said his conversion to free-market policies went back to "a precise date in 1969" just after a meeting with the Russian-born U.S. economist Wassily Leontieff.

He subsequently worked at the Bucharest Academy of Public Finance as a specialist of "non-socialist, that is capitalist countries."

"People then used to ask me why I had chosen a subject which offered no prospects of advancement," he joked.

Covasna-Harghita Commission Responds to Charges

AU2410212791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1942 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1991—During a sitting of the two chambers of Romania's Parliament to debate the report of the parliamentary Covasna-Harghita Hearing Commission held on Thursday, October 24, a number of deputies and Senators Geza Szocs and Attila Verestoy, both representing the parliamentary group of the Hungarian Democratic Union, took the floor to express their opinions.

The members of the Assembly of Deputies referred to events that occurred or are under way in Transylvania and showed that the responsibility was fully incumbent on the extremist groups of the Hungarian population. The idea was stressed that the fault was not the Hungarian population's as a whole and an appeal was made for increased concern to lessen tension.

At the end of the sitting, a meeting was called at the Parliament Palace of the leaders of the parliamentary groups in the Senate and in the Assembly of Deputies to agree on whether debates on that issue should continue or not.

On October 24, Romania's Parliament was read the answer of the Harghita-Covasna Hearing Commission to the document attached to the commission's report and signed by Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) parliamentarians.

The commission is accused of having "repeatedly" insisted that the report be translated and circulated abroad. In our opinion this proves the good faith of the commission: It gives the West the material so that it may draw its own conclusions without waiting for ours which might be assessed as biased. The translation of the material is all the more necessary since there already are numerous materials circulating in the West which distort the realities of inter-ethnic relations in Transylvania. One example: Elod Kincses' book titled "Black March in Tirgu Mures" speaking about the so-called pogrom organized by the Romanians against the Hungarians, the Romanians being considered inhuman, extremist and chauvinistic.

While most of the members of the commission got involved directly in the drafting of the report, the UDMR parliamentarians, although they had pledged to

write a chapter, did not come up with one page to be discussed and included in the report. They pursued to procrastinate works so that the activity of the Commission no longer be of national interest. For a change, knowing the chapters drafted, Messrs. Csia and Takacs set themselves to demolish them through conclusions which, unfortunately, have been drawn deliberately starting from false premises.

Next the answer shows that the draft was discussed not only from the point of view of composition and grammar, as the document worked out by the UDMR parliamentarians assesses. The short-hand notes of the works show that discussions were held. Ideas were modified or eliminated, others were introduced, some chapters were eliminated, others were shortened. All this was done in a democratic manner. Every phrase was voted, every chapter was also voted.

It is true, the answer shows, that the UDMR, through its representatives in the commission, admitted the nationalistic outbursts of the Szeklers and of the Hungarians, considering that similar outbursts were registered with the Romanians as well. We ask our colleagues to give us just one example of a Szekler or Hungarian who, living in an area with a majority Romanian population, was killed, beaten, offended, chased away or humiliated in the days of December 22-25, 1989 as it had happened with many Romanians in Harghita and Covasna Counties.

The charge was rejected that the parliamentarians who signed the report would be a "nationalist group". It had been proved with documents and statements that the people who had come before the commission had proved that they had been chased away and not "pretended" it had happened that way.

The answer also shows that all the hearings were held at the initiative of the people involved in those events and the commission answered their requests. If certain people did not come to be heard, the commission did not force anybody to do so, but it did not refuse anybody either. Senators Ludovic Demeny and Gabor Kozsokar (named Cojocaru Gabriel until the revolution) were heard and could say everything they wanted to. And this is shown in the report.

The document titled "Assessments of the Report of the Covasna-Harghita Hearing Commission and Motivation of its Non-Signing by Some of the Members of the Commission" is a text that must be read. At the same time it may be taken as a proof of the fact that the UDMR leaders of the extremist wing, taking advantage of the kindness of the Romanian people—and setting their actions on the "fait accompli" policy—infringe, through well concerted actions from the inside and from the outside, upon the integrity and sovereignty of the Romanian state, the answer read by Senator Mihai Teodorescu, chairman of the commission, shows in conclusion.

UDMR Statement on 17 Oct Parliament Debate

AU2610154291 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 23 Oct 91 p 3

[Statement by Geza Szocs, political deputy chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania; place and date not given]

[Text] The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] agrees with efforts to remove blank areas from the map of our recent history—particularly because most of these areas are dark rather than blank.

For example, the UDMR believes it would be very timely to identify and give exemplary punishments to the mass murderers of December 1989, or to clarify the background to the series of social and political conflicts that have taken place since then.

Instead of this, we find that, once again, a brutal action is being used to try to divert the attention of the Romanian public from its own serious problems and from the responsibility of those who are to blame for the colonial conditions that still characterize the situation in this country.

On 17 October, under the pressure of an extremist political group—and disregarding Parliament's standard procedures—a tendentiously drafted document was read out in Parliament and covered live by television.

The document dealt with the alleged persecution of a few hundred Romanian families in the counties of Harghita and Covasna.

The academic level of this document is well illustrated by the fact that Szeklers and Hungarians are seen as having two different national identities. As for the authors' bias, we need only mention the following:

1. According to the report, one of the most valid pieces of evidence of persecution is the fact that four Romanians were killed in the Szeklerland in December 1989. The report does not take into consideration the fact that:

a) these people were called to account not because they were Romanians but because they were policemen who had served the dictatorship somewhat overzealously;

b) three Hungarians lost their lives just like the four Romanians, for the same reasons and under the same circumstances;

c) the population in other counties also took bloody vengeance upon the servants of the dictatorship.

2. The report also believes it is proof of persecution that, after December 1989, many Romanian intellectuals returned to the county from which they had previously been administratively forced to move to the Szeklerland. The report does not take into account the fact that:

a) this phenomenon was also witnessed as a natural movement of peoples in Romania's other counties after the lifting of the aforementioned administrative barriers;

b) a large number of Hungarians also left the two counties—for the same reasons, or for other, personal, or family reasons.

3. The report does not take into account the fact that the Romanian population in these two counties is suffering from negative moral effects because the same extremist forces responsible for this report also spread horror stories (even in the press) at the beginning of 1990 about the bloody atrocities carried out against Romanians in Harghita and Haromszek. Some people of a weaker disposition actually fled because of these horror stories—but today, nobody is looking for those responsible for this mass panic.

In essence, this report does not rise above the level of a newspaper that is willing to see a knifing in a bar (Hungarian culprit, Romanian victim) as a terrorist action organized by the UDMR and aimed at violating Romania's territorial integrity.

With its bamboozlement over this, it diverts people's attention from the fact that Romania's crime statistics are shooting up to the stars. The crimes committed by Romanians against Romanians thus pale into insignificance—that is a typical example of sending a vigilant society to sleep.

As a consequence of all this, we expect the following as soon as possible:

1. That a parliamentary committee deal with the culprits who murdered not four but some 1,000 innocent Romanians in December 1989;

2. That a parliamentary committee deal not only with the Romanians driven out of Harghita and Covasna Counties but also with the hundreds of thousands of Romanians who have been driven out of Romania since 1989;

3. That a parliamentary committee deal with those forces who are starving, stupefying, and inciting mutual hatred among those people they have not yet succeeded in chasing out of the country.

The couple of days that have passed since the reading of the report prove that interethnic tensions have grown considerably, as has the idea of an anti-Hungarian pogrom and lynching action. Not only are the extremist forces to blame for this but also the whole Parliament, which has lost its prestige at the same time.

If it is true that part of the population can be chased away by inciting hatred in a couple of towns and counties, then this present mood orchestrated by the state and involving the assistance of the central media is aimed at forcing ethnic Hungarians into exile. This event clearly shows how one can artificially create tension through an incident that took place two years ago and that is undemonstrable in its entirety and its details.

Incidentally, we are convinced that the circles of authority responsible for the incitement of the hysteria of these past few weeks deliberately let extremist forces get the upper hand. The UDMR is once again being attacked, supposedly because it is an ethnic organization—but, in reality, they are trying to annihilate one of the main opposition forces. Having succeeded in separating the National Liberal Party from the opposition (in other words, neutralizing it), disbanding the UDMR would definitively divide and weaken the opposition.

Consequently, this background strategy is directed not only against the UDMR and Hungarians but also against the fundamental interests of Romania's democracy. The vision of a communist phalanstery is threatening us again: If a society accepts the persecution of those who speak differently, then it should know that this will automatically be followed by the persecution of those who think differently.

That is precisely why our association asks those democratic forces in Romania's society who think independently to see solidarity with democracy and with the Hungarian community in Romania as a question of vital importance.

Ethnic Leader Sees Himself as Campaign Target

AU2410134291 Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 22 Oct 91 p 25

[Interview with Geza Szocs, national deputy chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, by Peter Marvany; place and date not given: "The Position of 'Ten Little Indians'—The Destruction of the RMDSZ—Spying Charges and a Campaign To Discredit"]

[Text] For some weeks, there has been a strong campaign in Romania, and the Hungarians are the issue again. As is known, a storm broke around the Szeklers' mass meeting in Agyagfalva [Lutita], where some people wanted to bring up the idea of a possible referendum on the Szeklers' autonomy. The Romanian press presented this as if some people were preparing to mutilate the Romanian nation. The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] repeatedly distanced itself from the proposal of Agyagfalva, though. Nevertheless, the Bucharest Parliament dealt with this issue in an almost day-long session in a not very refined tone. Peter Marvany interviewed Geza Szocs.

[Marvany] The agreements and consensuses that have recently been talked about so many times in Romania appear to be breaking up considerably....

[Szocs] In the summer of 1990, various Romanian power groups formed an alliance. The victors and those in power always have a policy of peace. Therefore, starting

from June 1990, consolidation became the key value and the key notion in Romania. However paradoxical it may sound, economic prosperity and the reform that was started in a rather clumsy and not professional way was also favorable for us. In this sense, the RMDSZ became an unwilling and tacit ally of the authorities. At the end of September 1991, the aforementioned consensus broke up for some reason. Chaos emerges in such situations where, to use a trivial expression, all sides have an axe to grind. This is the time when extremes come to the surface and everyone tries to gain ground, influence, and position by all possible means. They hold the view that, in such a crisis situation, there is a chance for an anti-Hungarian campaign to develop, perhaps to the degree of tragedy like the bloody clashes in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] in March 1990.

[Marvany] Are you trying to say that people who thought that this ethnic crisis "had to be set in motion now" really thought about these kinds of things?

[Szocs] The point is that, if that certain power consensus is formed, then it will not be needed anymore. If it is not formed, then there will be great danger. I feel, though, that in such a situation the threat of a fatal conflict is smaller.

[Marvany] It might have been the radio of Marosvasarhely that commented on events by saying that judgment was being passed on the Hungarians and the RMDSZ, but without a hearing.

[Szocs] It is possible that everyone in Eastern Europe is fed up with the scenarios and we do not believe in them, either, but it is obvious that the current operation has been prepared for weeks. For example, an incredibly aggressive discrediting campaign has been conducted against me for weeks. It is known that two currents prevail in the RMDSZ—namely, a more moderate and a more radical view. Now, the authorities are openly interfering: They want to eliminate the radical wing of the RMDSZ. If the other wing also becomes weaker in this struggle, so much the better, they think. Day by day, maddening and alarming rumors appear about me in the Romanian press. For example, it was written that I was caught at the border carrying video cassettes about the structure of the Romanian Army in Transylvania.

[Marvany] In other words, these articles accuse you of spying....

[Szocs] They accuse me of smuggling military secrets out of the country. Or of having funded a party with the aim of achieving Transylvania's independence. Hungarian readers know from the outset that the charges against me are impossibilities and aberrations. However, Romanian readers do not know that. In other words, this is psychological preparation with the aim of convincing Romanian society not to feel sorry for me and to see me as a spy and a traitor rather than as an opposition leader by the time they deal with me....

[Marvany] What can happen to you? How can they remove Geza Szocs?

[Szocs] Well, very simply. If we remember how Elod Kincses [former RMDSZ activist and defense lawyer of Presbytarian Bishop Laszlo Tokes] was forced into exile from Marosvasarhely in 1990, or, if we remember how the life of [writer] Andras Suto was narrowly saved, it becomes obvious that the scale is very wide and ranges from physical annihilation to political annihilation, and from moral annihilation to spiritual annihilation. It is also very interesting that they have started to make this kind of preparation within the Hungarian community as well as in Romanian society. It is stated, for example, that I am the initiator and the background leader of the action against the territorial integrity of the country. Therefore, I have to be removed. Talking about this situation in Arad, I said that we were in the situation of the 10 little Indians because, every day, one of our number disappeared. This is one of the reasons we should stand by Elod Kincses and definitely demand his rehabilitation because he is an innocent man. Incidentally, the committee of the Romanian Parliament that was set up to investigate the events in Marosvasarhely prepared a report in January 1991 confirming the innocence of Elod Kincses. In fact, this report gave Romania the decisive score for acquiring observer status in the Council of Europe. However, basic logic or basic rationality do not count; a much more comprehensive strategy lies behind these matters that tries to slowly destroy the RMDSZ, to divide it, to isolate and destroy its leaders and break their spirit. Everything that has been going on against Laszlo Tokes for almost two years should long have led to his collapse had he not been such an exceptional personality.

[Marvany] However, I believe that the virtual internal erosion and split in the RMDSZ also contributes to all this....

[Szocs] Undoubtedly, there is an erosion that results from disappointment. Last year, the RMDSZ members and the Hungarians in Transylvania thought that if they inserted a five-lei coin into the RMDSZ—that is the membership fee—then it would automatically give them democracy, a guaranteed national right, employment, social security, protection of rights, and so on. However, the RMDSZ could only provide what it was capable of providing. It was not able to change the social and political composition of Romania. The RMDSZ was only able to achieve the fact that, in the given situation, it could guarantee the legal protection of Hungarians and, in a certain sense, the protection of economic and social interests. If we examine the scope of the RMDSZ, we can see that it fulfilled this role and this task.

Campeanu on PNL Participation in Government

AU2710154891 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 23 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party, PNL, by Ralu Filip; place and date not given: "We Have Assumed a Political Risk"]

[Text] [Filip] Your party's involvement in the current government gave rise to different and contradictory opinions even among the signatories to the Convention for the Establishment of Democracy....

[Campeanu] I think you are wrong. The convention held a meeting at which I informed the participants about our participation in the next government and about the conditions for this participation. The convention stated that it supports the new government and added that the presence of the National Liberal Party [PNL] in the government may be useful for the opposition. This position is a logical one because the main purpose for our presence in the government is to organize a normal and civilized election campaign and correct elections that will fully reflect the will of the electorate.

[Filip] Despite this, Mr. Ion Ratiu recently said that you made a mistake in accepting this participation in the new government.

[Campeanu] Mr. Ion Ratiu has never attended the meetings of the convention; thus, he is not familiar with the spirit in which we work, nor is he familiar with the understandings on which our move is based! Speaking of mistakes, a major one is to criticize things one knows nothing about. Second, it is easy to say that another mistake is to make affirmations like the one Mr. Ratiu just made. Certainly, each man is entitled to his own views, but such views should not be coupled with subjective assessments or personal evaluations.

[Filip] In your opinion, what made Mr. Ion Ratiu say such a thing?

[Campeanu] I do not know.

[Filip] Do you think your participation in the government, together with the National Salvation Front, will threaten the existence of the convention?

[Campeanu] Absolutely not. Anyway, no attitude of ours will threaten the existence of the convention.

[Filip] Do you believe that your party's participation in the government at a time of crisis constitutes a political risk?

[Campeanu] Certainly, but we have assumed this risk on the basis of a decision of the permanent delegation—the supreme forum of our party. We believe that, given the political crisis, it was a normal thing for the opposition forces to participate in such a government, because they could—and I suppose they can—change the development of things in our country. I want to repeat, it should not only try to pacify spirits and the great tension in our country but also—and especially—contribute to the holding of legal and democratic elections.

[Filip] What chances do you give the current government?

[Campeanu] It certainly will not be able to perform miracles, but it has to attempt to improve people's everyday life, especially now when winter is approaching; it also has to take the necessary measures so that the elections will take place normally and correctly. There is another condition: Relations between the partners of the government team have to be open and honest. Should we notice the existence of certain blockages based strictly on party criteria, the PNL members will tender their resignations to the government.

PSD Leader Views Center-Left Political Scene

AU2510092691 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 22 Oct pp 1, 4

[Interview with Velicu Radina, president of the Social Democrat Party, by Ralu Filip; place and date not given: "There Is No Communist Party in Romania"]

[Text] [Filip] Mr. Radina, you invited to the roundtable you organized on 11 October at the Hotel Bucuresti members of the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM]!

[Radina] We did not invite anyone in particular. In the note published in the press, we invited center-left wing parties to attend the talks.

[Filip] Why only them?

[Radina] This is the political area for our actions.

[Filip] Nevertheless, how do you explain the participation of the communist party and the PSM in the talks?

[Radina] First, there is no communist party in Romania. This is precisely what I explained to Mr. Zbaganu, who came as the president of a committee for the reorganization of the communist party because he believes that a communist party should not be reestablished if no one has dissolved it. Our viewpoint is that, on 22 December 1989, the whole political system was abolished through the proclamation of the National Salvation Front Council. The law that allows the establishment of a party clearly states the conditions that must be respected. In accordance with this law, there is no communist party! Thus, it was not the communist party but Mr. Zbaganu who attended the talks.

[Filip] What is the relationship between you and your party and Mr. Zbaganu?

[Radina] Relationship? No more than a private person....

[Filip] What about the PSM?

[Radina] Yes. It was represented at the talks, and I cannot think of anything unusual about it. If you remember, on the second day after the congress, its president said that the PSM is a center-left wing party.

[Filip] What is your opinion about the presence of persons such as Ilie Verdet or Traian Dudas [PSM leaders] at the head of a center-left party?

[Radina] It is natural for each party to elect the person it wishes at its helm because party members are the only ones who can truly decide whether they are good or bad.

[Filip] Do you foresee an alliance of center-left parties?

[Radina] As far as we are concerned, we will not merge with any party. However, we are aware of the fact that the approaching local and even general elections will accentuate the contacts and relations among parties that are grouped according to areas of common interests. It is clear to me that we will not have a sector-type participation of each party, as happened on 20 May 1990. As a matter of fact, other parties began regrouping much earlier, and a right-wing coalition of the so-called Convention for Democracy began to take shape.

The National Salvation Front and its allies within the Charter for Democracy are already in a center-right area, and the Traditional Social Democratic Party is approaching them at great speed. During the roundtable we organized, common interpretations and viewpoints on domestic and international realities began to take shape, but this does not mean an alliance in a concrete fashion.

Nastase Previews Trip to Moldova, Korea

AU2510210191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1924 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/10/1991—Before leaving for the Republic of Moldova and the Republic of Korea, Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase stated to the press that during his brief visit to Chisinau [Kishinev] he would exchange views and have consultations with Foreign Minister Nicolae Tau. We intend to work still more intensively for growing relations of brotherhood in all spheres of activity after establishing diplomatic relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova and opening embassies in Bucharest and Chisinau, which we hope to happen soon, the Romanian foreign minister said underscoring: We shall further support the actions the Republic of Moldova has taken for its recognition internationally, for the recognition of its independence.

In reference to his visit to Korea the Romanian dignitary stated: The Republic of Korea is for us an important partner. My visit there is an opportunity for me to further build mutually profitable relationships and convey political signals the businessmen in both countries need for their actions. As far as we are concerned, we attach special importance to this visit, the first of the kind paid by a Romanian foreign minister after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries on March 30 last year. We are ready to forward a package of proposals apt to set the Romanian-South Korean ties on a specific foundation. At the same time the talks will facilitate, I hope, better knowledge of the Republic of Korea's experience in economics, finance, banking and management, contributing to identifying new domains apt to outline new cooperation projects. Therefore, I hope my visit will substantially stimulate bilateral ties especially in the economic and commercial spheres. The talks with South Koreans will also give us the opportunity to effect a useful exchange of views on foreign policy matters of joint interest.

On my route to Seoul I shall stop over in Tokyo where I shall have interviews with Japanese officials, the Romanian foreign minister also said.

International

Third Plenary Session of Hague Conference Opens

LD2510133491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1200 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, October 25 (TANJUG)—The third plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia opened with a delay of an hour and a half in the Dutch Foreign Ministry building in The Hague today. The beginning of the session was put off because of a meeting between conference chairman, Lord Carrington and President of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic.

The plenary [word indistinct] is chaired by Lord Carrington. It is attended by the presidents of all six Yugoslav republics, and by Presidency of Yugoslavia President Stjepan Mesic, Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar.

President of the E.C. Council of Ministers, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, is not attending today's session because he is accompanying the queen of the Netherlands on a visit to Japan.

Participants in the third plenary session of the Hague conference on Yugoslavia are expected today to give their views of the E.C. proposal for the solution of the Yugoslav crisis. The proposal was opposed by a number of the Yugoslav republics, in particular Slovenia and Serbia, in the conference commissions the past two days.

Milosevic: 'No New Ideas' in EC Document

AU2510134491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Speaking at the plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said that the new EC document, unfortunately, contains few new ideas compared with the previous one. In this way we have been returned to the beginning, only with a more ambitious and more serious title, Milosevic said. I think that this conference cannot succeed if it fails to pay attention to justice and law, and even less so if it acts illegally, Milosevic said, adding that Yugoslavia, a member and founder of the United Nations whose Charter guarantees territorial integrity and sovereignty, is not mentioned in the document, not even with the term Yugoslav crisis.

The new document, as well as the old one, recognizes the right to the self-determination of Yugoslavians unequally, because that right is recognized only for those who want to create new states by leaving Yugoslavia and not for those who want to continue living in the Yugoslav state.

Milosovic Addresses Hague Conference

LD2510173891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Speech by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at The Hague conference on Yugoslavia on 25 October]

[Text] The Hague, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Mr. President, the new document we received yesterday afternoon unfortunately contains only few new elements compared to the previous one. Frankly, we expected that more attention would be devoted to our interests. We are now back at square one, except that the title is more ambitious and more binding.

There is no point in my repeating the objections I raised a week ago. I maintain that the conference cannot succeed if it does not take justice into consideration and even less so if it acts against the law.

Yugoslavia, a member and founder of the United Nations, whose charter guarantees territorial integrity and sovereignty, is not even mentioned in the term, Yugoslav crisis. Both the new and the old document recognize the Yugoslav nations' right to self-determination unevenly, because this right is only recognized for those nations wishing to create independent states by leaving Yugoslavia. They do not recognize it for those wishing to continue living in a common state. These nations are being forced to apply the right to self-determination against their own will.

I believe that the conference will respect its own stand that only Yugoslav nations can make decisions about their own fate. It is well known that in Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina no referendum has been conducted on this issue so far. I maintain that every solution based on impartial morality would retain the option of the continuity of the state for those constituent Yugoslav nations which brought international integrity and the continuity of their states into Yugoslavia in 1918 and which want to continue living in a common state.

We do not see a single reason for ignoring the solution based on legality (international law) and legitimacy (the voice of the people who want to preserve their common state).

As for the status of Krajina and Slavonia and Baranja, the document made a step toward a compromise of the idea on special status by turning the special status of these Serbian districts into a general solution. This is not just illogical—because the special status loses its meaning by becoming a general rule—but also pretends to wipe away all differences between the inalienable rights of Yugoslav nations and the rights of national minorities, as regulated by the Yugoslav Constitution, international legal instruments and the CSCE political documents.

We cannot understand why one wants to chose—instead of the existing legal one—some other untested and dangerous way. For Yugoslavia this would at the same

time mean taking on much more serious obligations than the ones which other CSCE member countries have compared to national minorities. This would violate the priniciple of the equality of the CSCE member countries concerning their rights and obligations, while Yugoslavia and its parts would receive a special treatment, which can in no way be either explained or justified.

I maintain that special status should be correctly indicated and linked with the status of Krajina and Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem. Because, first, the people in those areas decided by referendum to remain in Yugoslavia. Second, in World War II, the armed forces of the independent state of Croatia committed the worst genocide in Europe in these territories. This genocide began materializing again in the process of Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia.

I cannot see why there should be a major problem in defining the content of their special status (of Serb-ruled regions in Croatia) in such a way that it guarantees peace and freedom to the citizens of these two Krajinas. This would, on the one hand, help overcome the gravest problem and pave the way for a compromise solution to the Yugoslavia crisis and, on the other hand, eventually refute the ill-founded accusations against Serbia that it has allegedly territorial ambitions and wants to create the so-called Greater Serbia.

Finally, I want to say that it is unacceptable to demand the reintroduction of the solutions for the autonomous provinces envisaged by the 1974 Constitution. This amounts to, first, disrimination against Serbia, because only Serbia has two autonomous provinces, and, two, intolerable interference in our internal relations. Moreover, this demand has no basis in the relevant international legal instruments and CSCE documents.

I want to draw your attention again to the fact that the proposition insists on the concept of economic integration which the EC has long abandoned as outdated and ineffective. In other words, the Yugoslav nations and republics are required to descend from a high level of integration to the lowest level of integration. It is not clear why the concept of a loose association has been given absolute priority when the experience of others has demonstrated its lack of vitality. We note that the majority of the working group was in favor of the common market option with adequate monetary arrangements and economic policies. The loose association option obviously favors the more developed secessionist republics of Slovenia and Croatia because it provides them with a customs union and free circulation of goods without any obligations toward the less developed Yugoslav republics.

This is why we are expressing our strong reservations about the entire economic chapter.

In conclusion, the proposal and its contents do not lead to stability and peace because they certainly pave the way for new instability and tensions. To enable a new proposed document to evolve into a basis for the further work of our conference it is necessary to smooth out the shortcomings we have pointed out.

Milosevic Rejects Territorial Pretensions

AU2610171491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, by an unidentified correspondent in The Hague on 25 October—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Prior to the plenary session today you spent an hour and a half talking to the chairman of the conference, Lord Carrington. The impression among we correspondents is that perhaps the conference itself depended on this conversation. What did you discuss?

[Milosevic] We talked about some essential arguments concerning the future course of work and the conference. Speaking about my conversation with the chairman of the conference, Lord Carrington, and the course of the conference itself, I think that it is obvious that no one has challenged our arguments. On the contrary, these arguments were seriously considered. Hence, we expect and hope that they will be taken into consideration in the future course of the conference.

However, as you know very well, the key question is the question of how to resolve the position of Serbian people in Croatia, in these two regions. We expect a solution to finally emerge, a solution that will establish a model and ensure freedom and security to these people. We are not demanding anything else.

[Correspondent] Lord Carrington just said at a news conference that progress was made today, too. Do you agree?

[Milosevic] Considering that there is growing awareness for the need to resolve this key disputable question, we can say that some progress has been made. Therefore, it is becoming clear that we are not talking about any territorial pretensions, but about the freedom and rights of these people. This is all. This is the entire idea that we have been talking about all this time. I hope that the conference will make certain progress in this respect.

Mesic: Talks 'Futile' Without EC Action

LD2510201191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] One of the first statements to the press in The Hague was given by Stipe Mesic. After saying that it was good that the talks at the European level are continuing, despite the continuation of aggression against Croatia, he said:

[Begin Mesic recording] There is no cease-fire, so all these talks are futile if European mechanisms are not put into action. Only action can stop the aggression, for the Yugoslav Army is acting autonomously—true, under the

auspices of Serbia and under Slobodan Milosevic's direct influence. But these negotations are having no effect on the war, it is not being stopped. The attack on Dubrovnik bears witness that this is by no means about fighting for someone's rights, because Croats account for over 90 percent of Dubrovnik's citizens. There is no army there either. The Yugoslav Army, that is, the Serbian Army, is nevertheless attacking this city, using everything at its disposal. Hence, this is by no account about resolving the problem of the unregulated rights of this or that people in Croatia.

This is about conquering Croatia's territories to Greater Serbia's advantage. After all, this has already been announced. Kadijevic said that a new army and a new Yugoslavia are being created. The Presidency is not operating, nor is the federal government, nor the federal assembly. There is no longer a single federal institution. I also have to say truthfully that what are we dealing with is an aggression which has to stopped. Some do not agree with me, but I maintain that the war is now moving to Bosnia-Hercegovina and then to Serbia, where it will end. That will also be the end of those who started this aggression—the generals, headed by Kadijevic, and Milosevic and his team who have no scruples. Afterward, we will be talking, because the democratic forces will win in Serbia too and they will prefer talks to war. [end recording]

Ethnic Group 'Special Status' Rejected

LD2510154191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1526 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, October 25 (TANJUG)—The debate at the third plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia is proceeding in a "constructive atmosphere", as TANJUG learns from its participants. It has been agreed that the commissions continue work to "bring closer the stands and eliminate remarks on the proposed E.C. document on the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis."

According to Serbian delegation sources, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia rejected the proposed solution on special status for ethnic groups on the overall territory of Yugoslavia. These three Yugoslav republics assessed this could only apply to the Serbian people in Croatia. Bosnia-Hercegovina did not comment on their decision, while Croatia spoke out sharply against it.

The participants in the conference have not yet been given an annex to the E.C. document on the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis on the special status for ethnic groups, that is, regions for which it is envisaged.

According to sources in the Slovenian and Serbian delegation, at the opening of today's session, Lord Carrington deplored the "bombarding of Dubrovnik and Vukovar," adding that it had not been done to unblock Army barracks or protect the Serbian people in Croatia. As the sources say, Lord Carrington said he regretted that General Veljko Kadijevic was not in The Hague today to tell him this in person.

Lord Carrington also said that Croatia had not unblocked all Army barracks in the republic, adding this should be done immediately. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman replied that all Army barracks in Croatia have been unblocked.

Session Ends; Conference To Continue

LD2510154891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1328 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, October 25 (TANJUG)—The third plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia at the highest level ended in The Hague today after working for about an hour. The exchanges of views resumed at a luncheon offered for the conference participants by conference chairman, Lord Carrington. Agreement was reached today for the conference to continue work in comissions, as has been learned. The date of the next summit has not, however, been set.

Lord Carrington has urged that the individual Yugoslav republics in the meantime to intensify their contacts and consultations. Lord Carrington will this evening leave for New York, where he will inform U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar about the work of The Hague conference. Lord Carrington will meet with president of the E.C. Council of Ministers, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek this afternoon, that is, on the eve of the meeting of the E.C. foreign ministers in Brussels on October 28.

Press Comments on Outcome

LD2610125991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1207 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 26 (TANJUG)—Serbia's representative in the Commission for Economic Questions at the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague Oskar Kovac assessed that The Hague meeting resembled "dialogue between the deaf" and a waste of time since no progress was made.

The Belgrade daily BORBA today cites Kovac as saying that "only some cosmetic changes" had been made in the proposed concept of a customs union although the very first meeting of the Commission for Economic Questions noted that there were no uniform solutions which would be suitable to all Yugoslav sides.

Kovac, a professor at the Belgrade University School of Economics and a former official of the Yugoslav Government in charge for cooperation with European organizations, warned that "at least three Yugoslav republics expressed reservations about the most important parts of the document."

The Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE today described as "encouraging signs" at The Hague conference that "Serbia stopped opposing a general settlement of the Yugoslav crisis in the manner proposed by Conference Chairman Lord Carrington."

The paper, published in the capital of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, notes that "pessimists are right that things have deteriorated since last week's meeting" (when it was 5-1) since now other Yugoslav republics expressed their dissatisfaction with the mention of matters unsuitable to them.

The Sarajevo weekly NEDJELJA believes that the "European Community had a wrong approach to the Yugoslav crisis from the start since it dealt with the consequences, not the causes of the war in the country."

The weekly explains that only "the latest document—arrangements for a general settlement of the Yugoslav crisis—defines the two key problems: the position of Serbs in Croatia and the question of future relations between the sovereign republic states in the new association," the weekly writes.

Milosevic Assures Tudjman of Peace Efforts

LD2510180991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, October 25 (TANJUG)—Presidents of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Croatia Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, respectively, met at the Dutch Foreign Ministry on Friday afternoon, after the closing of the plenary session of the conference for Yugoslavia. The unexpected meeting lasted 45 minutes.

After the talks, Tudjman told newsmen that Milosevic had assured him that Serbia had no territorial claims towards Croatia. Milosevic told me that he would do what he can for the cessation of attacks on Dubrovnik and the whole war, said Tudjman.

Kadijevic Letter to Carrington Rejects Accusations

LD2610210691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1902 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for National Defense Information Service has been asked TANJUG to publish the letter which Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, sent to Lord Carrington, chairman of the peace conference on Yugoslavia. The letter says:

Esteemed Lord:

I have learned through the public information media about your speech at the opening of the seventh plenary session of the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague on 25 October 1991. I state with regret that you made statements about the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and about me personally which do not correspond with the factual situation.

With reference to your statement that "prolonged attacks by the YPA on Dubrovnik and Vukovar" are very worrying and threatening because "there are no blocked garrisons there which need liberating nor Serbian communities which need protecting," I am presenting to you only a few facts:

(1) The YPA units are not attacking the old town center of Dubrovnik and have strict orders, which they consistently observe, not to open fire on this town.

(2) The actions undertaken by the YPA units have been imposed on them by constant armed provocations and actions on the part of the armed formations of the Republic of Croatia.

(3) One of the strongest bases from which the armed formations of the Republic of Croatia have constantly been opening fire is at Kupari (five kilometers from Dubrovnik). Several military installations are located there and they had earlier been taken over and occupied by the armed formations of the Republic of Croatia. By unblocking the military installations in Kupari on 25 October, further offensive actions by the YPA in this area have stopped.

(4) A considerable number of citizens of Serbian nationalilty live in Dubrovnik. According to individuals who have fled, members of the armed formations of the Republic of Croatia are treating them (Serbs) as hostages, while at the same time preparing provocative actions in order to accuse the YPA of destroying this ancient city.

Today, 26 October, I sent my suggestion to Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, that Dubrovnik be demilitarized under the EC's control.

We have also invited all military envoys in Belgrade, as well as some ambassadors, including the ambassador of Great Britain, to inspect the old urban heart of Dubrovnik, so they can be convinced at first hand that the claims about the YPA's attack are absolutely groundless.

As I write this letter to you I have been informed that the armed formations of the Republic of Croatia in Vukovar have opened mortar fire, for the umpteenth time, on the barracks in this town. On this occasion one YPA officer sustained severe injuries (doctors claim that both his legs will probably have to be amputated) while four soldiers sustained serious and light injuries. The attacks on the YPA barracks and units in Vukovar are relentless. Hence, no one can demand that the YPA not respond to them.

I note that the majority of Vukovar's population are Serbs and that we have reliable reports that members of the armed forces of the Republic of Croatia are committing serious crimes against them.

Neither I, nor probably you, know of a single army in the world which would calmly tolerate incessant attacks on its members and units and considerable human and material losses.

In order to directly acquaint you with the kind of crimes *members of the armed formations of the Republic of* Croatia are committing against YPA members and the Serbian population I have ordered that a video recording be sent to you immediately of one such crime with which some members of the international mission in Yugoslavia have already been acquainted.

It is true that I have always said that the YPA will accept and observe any agreed political solution. I confirm this also on this occasion. However, the Army, and I am convinced the peoples who want to preserve Yugoslavia as well, will not accept any ultimatums or blackmail.

You state that I have sided with one side in the conflict. Since the beginning of the crisis in Yugoslavia we have been and will remain on the side of those who want a peaceful and democratic solution and the transformation of Yugoslavia in keeping with the freely expressed will of the people and the solution arrived at through political agreements and not through a policy of fait accomplis. The Army cannot be on the side of those who are destroying Yugoslavia by unilateral and unconstitutional acts and who for this reason are constantly attacking the YPA with arms and in other ways.

I must state with regret that all the present agreements which concern the YPA, and which the European Community and you personally have been engaged in, have produced no results—beginning with the agreement on the redeployment of units from Slovenia to the agreement on lifting the blockade of the army barracks in the Republic of Croatia.

We have received yesterday's statement from The Hague—that the YPA units and premises in Croatia have been unblocked—with astonishment because the truth is completely different. The blockade is increasing from day to day. This can easily be verified.

Respectfully,

Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense.

Croatian Foreign Minister Sends Proposal to EC

LD2710134191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic sent letters to all EC foreign ministers on the eve of the 28 October meeting in Brussels. The letter says that the drastic consequences of this undeclared war on Croatia can now be clearly seen in the wake of recent attacks on the historic town of Dubrovnik. Separovic further cites the continuing attacks on Vukovar and the genocidal attacks on Croats who had been forcibly resettled.

Separovic then reminds EC ministers that at the last meeting in The Hague, five Yugoslav republics agreed to the proposed plan, with the exception of Serbia.

Since Yugoslavia no longer exists, Separovic requests that the EC pass a decision calling for the unconditional withdrawal of all Yugoslav troops by 10 November, the deblockading of all Croatian cities, and if Serbia persists in refusing a negotiated settlement, the EC should apply the most severe economic sanctions. Separovic also suggests that the EC threaten military intervention in the form of peacekeeping forces and that Serbia be politically isolated.

Separovic concludes by asking for economic and humanitarian aid for Croatia due to the tremendous numbers of refugees and the damage to its industry.

U.S. Said Exposing Europe's Weakness in Balkans

LD2610132491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1237 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, October 26 (TANJUG)—The latest issue of the Sarajevo weekly NEDJELJA writes that the "uncovering of the secret about preparing troops of the Western European Union to intervene in Yugoslavia show that the Yugoslav battlefield is a secondary issue, and that a new battle for the division of the world and spheres of influence is being fought on the issue of European security."

The weekly, published in the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, sees the essence of the action which is aimed at reviving the WEU as a military organization and to set up a European army in the clash on the economic front between Western Europe and the United States since European capital wanted to rid itself of its tutor.

The commentary believes that the "Americans are giving Europe room to act in the Yugoslav crisis and an opportunity to express all major weaknesses in Europe's policy in the Balkans. When the failure becomes obvious, Washington will step in," as the weekly writes. "The chaos in the Balkans will serve the United States to show its efficiency and, lastly, its unavoidability in European affairs", the weekly explains.

Serbian Opposition's Draskovic on Moscow Visit

LD2510214391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1400 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, October 25 (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the strongest Serbian opposition party, the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), told the Soviet news agency Interfax in Moscow today it was illogical that the people who were leading the war in Yugoslavia began talking about peace. Draskovic, who yesterday arrived in Moscow, thus answered a question about the recent talks Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had with Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, the presidents of Serbia and Croatia.

Draskovic is in Moscow for the Congress of the Russian Democratic Party of Communists which begins tomorrow.

In his interview, Draskovic said that the root of the Yugoslav crisis was the conflict between Orthodox Christian Serbs and Catholic Croats, adding that the deepest roots lie in the Croatian genocide against Serbs during World War II. Draskovic also said that the conflict in Yugoslavia was between two totaliarian regimes: "The Serbian Nazi-Communist and Croatian Nazi regime," describing it also as a "conflict between the Serbian Stalin and the Croatian Hitler." He said that the aim of his visit was to have talks with officials of the "fraternal Russian people" on the problems of Yugoslavia and Serbia and ways to settle them. He said he hoped to be received by the president and vice-president of Russia, Boris Yeltsin and Aleksandr Rutskoy.

Russia's Rutskoy To Visit Serbia, Macedonia

LD2710224391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1944 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, October 27 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Russian Federation Aleksandr Rutskoy on Saturday accepted an invitation from President of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) Vuk Draskovic to visit the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

The president of the SPO, the largest opposition party in the biggest Yugoslav republic, is visiting Moscow at the invitation from the Free Russia Party headed by Rutskoy. The exact date of Rutskoy's visit will be announced later, it was stated in Moscow.

The statement said that Rutskoy and Draskovic discussed the tragedy being currently experienced by the Russian and Serbian peoples, each in its particular way. They hoped that Russia and Serbia would shortly set out with great strides towards their democratic, economic and spiritual renewal.

Protest to Poland Over Slovene Passport Recognition

LD2510211191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1849 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, October 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador to Poland Murat Agovic on Friday lodged a strong protest to that country over its recognition of the travel papers of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia.

In a protest note handed to Polish Assistant Foreign Minister Iv Biczewski, the Yugoslav ambassador pointed at the groes violation of international law, assessing that Warsaw's move practically meant that it no longer recognized Yugoslavia as the only international personality on its territory. Ambassador Agovic warned of possible consequences of this move for the two countries' relations in case the decision is not revoked.

During Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel's visit here, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski promised that Poland would recognize Slovenian passports.

TANJUG Notes Austria's 'Offensive' Neutrality

LD2610115591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1121 GMT 26 Oct 91

[By Svetislav Maksovic]

[Text] Vienna, October 26 (TANJUG)—Fighting is still going on in Yugoslavia and it seems that sabre-rattling has begun on its borders, judging by the activities of the defence ministries of Austria and Hungary.

This can be deduced from Austrian Defence Minister Werner Fasslabend's statement about the objectives of his visit to Budapest late this week. "We agreed on close cooperation and regular contacts between the armed forces of Austria and Hungary... We have not ruled out the possibility of a joint intervention in a third country," as Fasslabend said on Austrian television.

It was perfectly clear to which "third country" Fasslabend was referring—Yugoslavia, or more precisely, one of its parts—Serbia.

The Austro-Hungarian military engagement in the Yugoslav crisis would probably be within the forces of the West European Union, whose skeleton would be French, British and Italian troops. Fasslabend's allusions were clear because he said on Austrian television that "the Austrian Armed Forces have to be mature for Europe-...and prepared for integration in the all-European security system."

Fasslabend made no mention of Austria's neutrality, a word constantly used relating to its international activity. Austria's neutrality is contained in the 1955 state treaty which restored it as an independent state after World War II, in which it played an active role within the Third Reich. However, if Fasslabend failed to mention Austria's neutrality, Foreign Minister Alois Mock has invented a new term which should be included in all encyclopeadias. In an interview late this week, Mock said that in contrast to the period prior to the war in the Gulf, Austria was now fostering a concept of "offensive" neutrality. This is a major accomplishment of Austrian diplomacy which managed to concoct a phrase which means that it is and is not neutral at the same time.

In the same interview, Mock invented another phrase—"solidary neutrality". He said that Austria was solidary neutral in the Yugoslav crisis, without explaining how it was neutral but made it clear that Austria was engaged on the side of Slovenia and Croatia. Mock was dissapointed with the fact that Europe had not yet taken drastic steps against Serbia in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, adding that "we would all bitterly regret this one day."

All this is going on in an atmosphere of the Austrian's growing and menacing intolerance towards Yugoslavia, which is here a synonym for "Greater Serbia".

The results of a Gallup Poll, organized by the American Jewish Committee, appeared in Austrian papers on Friday. The results are very interesting: Austrians dislike only gypsies more than Serbs (49 percent and 41 percent respectively), and Serbs are even more unpopular than the traditionally disliked Turks (41 percent). Serbs, the largest foreign community numbering around 100,000, are even more disliked than Jews, whom 31 percent of Austrians dislike.

Air Force Command Confirms Plane Landed in Austria

LD2510202191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1701 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Sources close to the Air Force Command today confirmed that an Air Force plane has landed at the airport in Klagenfurt in Austria. No official statement has been made about this case. TANJUG has learned that an investigation is under way into the circumstances surrounding the plane.

Pilot's Extradition, Plane Sought

LD2710145791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1307 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has officially demanded of Austria the extradition of pilot Rudolf Perisin, who flew to Austria on Friday, and the return of the Yugoslav Air Force aircraft, as TANJUG learned at the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat (SSIP) on Sunday.

Yugoslav Vienna Embassy representative handed the demand on Saturday to the Austrian Foreign Ministry, as specified at the SSIP. It was also demanded that the Yugoslav Embassy be allowed contact with the pilot, so as to provide consular and legal protection. The SSIP add that part of the Austrian media has incorrectly reported that Yugoslavia did not demand the return of the aircraft.

The pilot, Flight Lieutenant Rudolf Perisin, took off on a "MiG-21" on Friday morning on a routine flight from the Bihac airfield, in Bosnia-Hercegovina. After 40 minutes, he landed in Klagenfurt, representatives of the military said on Saturday. Perisin asked for political asylum in Austria.

Mesic Asks Austria Not To Return Plane

LD2710220191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Stipe Mesic, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, and Dr. Zvonimir Separovic, minister of foreign affairs, have asked Austrian President Kurt Waldheim and Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock to give protection to pilots and planes which land on Austrian territory, with an explanation that there are no conditions or reasons for the planes to be returned to the Yugo-Serbian army which has been carrying out a genocide over the Croatian population and destroying churches, schools, hospitals, and cultural monuments. The planes cannot be returned in light of UN Resolution 713 which bans deliveries of weapons and military equipment to the former state of Yugoslavia.

A request was also sent asking Austria to consult and duly inform the Croatian side about any decision concerning the issue. A statement to this effect was sent to us by the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Yugoslavs 'Secretly Transferring' Assets to Hungary

AU2610150491 Paris AFP in English 1450 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, Oct 26 (AFP) - Yugoslav businessmen and professionals are secretly transferring their money and assets across the border into Hungary, press reports and witnesses said here Saturday. Sources from the southern Hungarian city of Szeged told AFP that well-off and skilled Yugoslavs, many between the ages of 30 and 40, were making frequent trips back and forth between Hungary and Yugoslavia to bring in capital to invest in the southern part of Hungary. Yugoslav entrepreneurs had deposited hard currency worth between 1.5 billion and two billion forints (between 20 and 27 million dollars) in banks in Szeged with the aim of investing it in Hungary, the national MAGYAR NEMZET daily said.

The report quoted a Yugoslav dentist who said he had made several trips in his battered Zastawa automobile between Vojvodina in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and Szeged to transfer his laboratory here machine by machine. He told the daily that he had sold everything he had in Yugoslavia but still had to make five or six more trips to rebuild the lab in Szeged.

The dentist, named Szabolcs Ujvari, complained that the price of land and houses in Szeged had doubled after Hungarian locals realised that a great number of Yugoslavs were transferring their assets here since the civil war in Yugoslavia broke out more than three months ago. Ujvari said that Yugoslav federal restrictions on withdrawing hard currency from bank accounts imposed three months ago prevented more Yugoslavs from moving their property to Hungary.

Lawyers in Szeged estimated that between five and 21 joint ventures had been created there with capital from Yugoslavia, according to the daily. Yugoslav money first went into small restaurants and boutiques but when it became clear that the war was not ending quickly, the money was put into long-term investments such as night clubs or more substantial restaurants, the daily said.

Federal

Defense Official Opposes Foreign Armed Intervention

AU2610205991 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Interview with Lieutenant General Marko Negovanovic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, by news presenter Miodrag Popov; place not given—live]

[Excerpt] [Popov] Good evening.

[Negovanovic] Good evening.

[Popov] You are in the position to present us with the latest war news.

[Negovanovic] As the Yugoslav public and our viewers know, the cease-fire agreement signed in The Hague on 18 October of this year is still in effect. Unfortunately, we must conclude that the agreement was not respected by the armed forces of Croatia today, either. They violated the cease-fire agreement on several occasions during the day, and this, bearing in mind the earlier 10 cease-fire agreements that have not been observed, is yet further very convincing proof of who is really imposing a military option in resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

[Popov] What can you tell us about the increasingly frequent rumors that are being spread about general mobilization?

[Negovanovic] The SFRY Presidency has not proclaimed general mobilization. At the proposal of the federal secretary for national defense, the presidency agreed to carry out mobilization in those parts of Yugoslavia whose residents favor life in a unified Yugoslavia. Mobilization extends only up to the operative needs of the Yugoslav People's Army. The extent of the mobilization is such that it should ensure that no unacceptable solution is imposed on those who want to live in Yugoslavia, those who express this wish through a free political will, be this through politics or fighting.

[Popov] Is outside intervention possible in our country?

[Negovanovic] The advocates of outside intervention in Yugoslavia are essentially those forces who want to break up Yugoslavia in the military sense. They are certain foreign factors and certain forces in Yugoslavia that have set up their illegal armies, carried out a military coup, and are waging a war against Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav People's Army everywhere. The forces from abroad support these forces politically, in terms of propaganda, and with arms and ammunition. This is a specific, special kind of aggression on Yugoslavia. The public knows which channels were used and from where the weapons were brought to Yugoslavia, and in what ways weapons and other equipment for armed fighting are being openly delivered to the Armed Forces of Croatia at present.

It is obvious that the duty and the right of all citizens and peoples who want to live in this country, in Yugoslavia, is to oppose the advocates of foreign military intervention with all available means. It is obvious that foreign military intervention cannot solve our problems and that it would only lead to the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the worst possible way. Otherwise, this intervention would be met in our country in the same way all other foreign military interventions were met throughout history, as an aggression, and it would be totally opposed. [passage omitted]

Montenegro, Croatia Discuss Border Dispute

AU2610201591 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Citing Radio Dubrovnik, Montenegro Television broadcast the news that the representatives of Croatia and Montenegro held a meeting at a ministerial level in Titograd on 24 October. The topic of the talks was the border between Montenegro and Croatia at Prevlaka near Hercegnovi.

Titograd Television news reported today that a meeting between representatives of Croatia, Montenegro, and the Yugoslav People's Army will take place next week. The talks will be at a higher level than those held so far at the Dubrovnik battlefield. As reported, this time they will meet somewhere in Boka Kotorska. The topic of the conversation has not yet been agreed on.

Slovenia

Rupel Reaffirms Positions on Hague Conference

AU2510101891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Interview with Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, by Matej Sulc in Ljubljana on 24 October—recorded]

[Text] [Rupel] These positions are, of course, the same as they have been until now and as they were explained in President Kucan's speech at the last session. At most, we will have to stress some of our positions a bit more at the conference this time, that is tomorrow, and, if I may say so, make a gesture to convince the participants and also, hopefully, the international community that we are not joking when we say on one hand that we sincerely participate in the conference and on the other that we do not intend to renounce the decisions adopted at the plebiscite and at the Slovene Assembly sessions.

[Sulc] Which positions should be stressed?

[Rupel] Well, first it is perfectly acceptable to us that on the territory of the present [dosedanji] Yugoslavia a new community could be established if the members agree to it, regardless of what kind or how populous it would be. However, Slovenia cannot and will not be a member of

this community. By the same token, we are not interested in the institutions proposed by this new document signed by Lord Carrington. We do not wish to be a member of these institutions. You know that some economic institutions, some, I would say, political and defense institutions and so forth were proposed. We have counted 19 of them. Naturally, we want to have good relations with other republics or with a new community. We also want to cooperate economically with other republics as we have already explained, in the free trade zone. We do not want to tell others how to arrange their mutual relationships. However, a constant, an indisputable motto remains that we are an independent, sovereign state that is quite interested in disassociation, the final settlement of assets and debts, and so on at this conference.

[Sulc] How do you assess the announcement of the Serbian side, that is, of the putschist Serbian leadership, that they will boycott the conference tomorrow?

[Rupel] I have not been informed in detail about their decisions and their methods. However, I think that it was Lord Carrington's mistake to invite them to the conference in the first place. There is no place for them at this conference. Since last Friday it is completely clear that this is a matter of agreement or talk, at least talk, among republics as the primary subjects of any future relations, as the basic political subjects of the present Yugoslavia.

Kucan on Hague Conference: 'Not Much of a Success'

LD2610042991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0216 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, October 26 (TANJUG)—As far as Slovenia is concerned, The Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia "was not much of a success," Milan Kucan, president of the Republic of Slovenia, northwestern Yugoslavia, said here late this evening.

Slovenia's delegation paid the most of attention to getting Slovenia internationally recognized, Kucan said on return from The Hague conference on Yugoslavia, the Slovenian press agency reported. Kucan said that "impossible is to accept a unique concept for all republics," since "only Slovenia has decided to have full independence," the same source said.

Last Yugoslav People's Army Soldier Leaves

LD2610003791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0007 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—At 0015 this evening sirens were sounded in the Slovene capital of Ljubljana and other towns to mark the departure of the last member of the Yugoslav People's Army from this republic. Under an agreement the last soldier was to have left Slovene soil at noon today, but the departure took longer than expected. In addition to the ferry Sveti Stefan, a Maltese ferry was also used to carry the last of the Army soldiers from Slovenia.

Kucan Officially Proclaims Freedom

AU2610141091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1005 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Speech by Republic of Slovenia President Milan Kucan at the ceremony marking the departure of the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia in Koper—live]

[Text] Citizens of Slovenia!

Major General Janez Slapar, head of the Slovene Territorial Defense Headquarters, informed me that the last soldier of the Yugoslav Army departed our territory by boat. He informed me that the task he was given when the aggression on Slovenia began is now complete. I establish that from this moment there is no foreign army on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia. I also establish that from now on, all actual power and control over the whole territory is officially and entirely in the hands of the Republic of Slovenia organs. [applause]

With this, all the requirements for the full international recognition of the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Slovenia, have been fulfilled. I have the honorable duty to ascertain that the responsibility for the survival and future of the Slovene nation is now fully in the hands of the Republic of Slovenia and its organs. This was the decision the citizens of the Republic of Slovenia made in the plebiscite last December with an overwhelming majority. Now that our freedom and territorial integrity have been secured we must concentrate more on economic and social development and other issues, on which the quality of the lives of our citizens, the future of the Slovene nation, and stability and democracy of the Slovene society and state, greatly depend.

At this moment I can ascertain that the efforts of numerous generations of Slovenes who—each in their own time and their own circumstances that have variously affected our history—have strived toward the freedom and independence of our motherland, have finally borne fruit. To all these people goes our acknowledgment and thanks that we can now reach this great goal. My special thanks and acknowledgement goes to the officers and soldiers of the Territorial Defense, and to the members of the Republic of Slovenia Ministry of Internal Affairs who in the absurd July war [26 June-10 July 1991] which was aimed against Slovenia's sovereignty and freedom, with their altruism, self-sacrifice, inventiveness, and courage—unfortunately some of them even at the price of their lives—sustained all the attacks of a much stronger and better armed enemy and emerged victorious. They won because the whole Slovene nation, which was firmly determined not to give in and be intimidated, stood behind them. No aggressor can conquer such a nation. [applause].

The Yugoslav Army, which once used to be our army, unfortunately assumed such an aggressive role in Slovenia toward the end. Such an army can destroy a nation, but then has no one left to rule.

There is peace in Slovenia now. However, in neighboring Croatia the war is unfortunately still raging— a brutal, barbaric, and expansionist war. In this war people are dying, old cultural monuments of the Croatian nation and of European civilization are vanishing, and great material damage is being caused. We protest in the name of humanity against this war and against any other war, and we condemn those who support it. [applause] On the basis of our own experience we demand that the conscience of democratic Europe finally wake up, and that Europe stop this war. We are willing to help with this in the future.

We expect that The Hague conference, at which our fate is also being decided, will recognize the full independence, autonomy, and sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia. We have come so far that we can now create our own state that will be European in every respect—democratic and friendly to all its citizens, a state concerned with the welfare, economic prosperity, and social justice of its citizens, a state of peace and cooperation, a country that will prove to be a good neighbor and a responsible and creative member of the community of European nations and states.

Citizens of Slovenia, the Republic of Slovenia is now free! [applause]

Republic Celebrates Army's Departure

LD2610213791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Koper, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—A public rally was held today in Koper, attended by the highest republican officials, in connection with the departure of the last Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] members from Slovenia.

Reporting to Milan Kucan, president of the Republic of Slovenia Presidency, Major General Janez Slapar, commander of the Slovene Territorial Defense, declared that "there are no foreign troops on Slovene soil." He added: "Freedom and independence are protected by the Slovenian military forces."

The participants in the celebration were also greeted by Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of Slovenia, who pointed out that now it is necessary to pay more attention to economic problems, development, and other questions. He concluded his speech with the following words: "Citizens of Slovenia, the Republic of Slovenia is now free." Janez Jansa, republican minister for national defense, and Igor Bavcar, minister of internal affairs of Slovenia, also spoke about the process of gaining independence and the departure of the YPA from Slovenia.

Payments Agreements Offered to Macedonia, Bosnia

AU2810101091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Katarina Fidermuc report on the news conference by Dr. Andrej Ocvirk, Slovene deputy prime minister, in Ljubljana on 25 October—recorded]

[Text] In the days following independence Slovenia signed a payments operations agreement with Croatia, Dr. Andrej Ocvirk, Slovene deputy prime minister, confirmed at the beginning of the news conference. He also gave assurances that the payments operations agreement with neighboring republics have been coordinated, which, according to him, means that payments operations between companies from both republics can resume.

The representatives of Slovenia and Croatia will resolve all remaining problems on Sunday, most probably at Otocec. In connection with this, Dr. Ocvirk said that disagreement between the two republics remains on the part of the interrepublican agreement that envisages the settlement of the existing obligations and debts between the economies of both republics.

One of the unresolved issues is also the 4.5 billion dinars that Croatian companies tried to pay into the accounts of Slovene banks on 21 October and mostly succeeded in doing so; 21 October was the last day on which companies from the different republics could still settle their obligations in dinars. Regarding the large amount of payments from the Croatian side, Dr. Ocvirk said that Croatia and Slovenia have agreed that they will inform each other about all payments, and that the payments ratio will be 1:1.

Commenting on the talks with the government delegations of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Andrej Ocvirk said that Slovenia has offered them the same payments operations agreement as it offered Croatia. The governments of the two republics are now studying the agreement and Slovenia is expecting their answer on Monday. The representatives of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Slovene delegation also discussed the possibility of introducing a temporary customs union. In talks with the Serbian Government delegation, the Slovene delegation only agreed that both republics must first reach an agreement about the political opening stances and only then can the republics discuss any sort of agreements on payments operations and other forms of economic cooperation. Even in the case of Serbia, Slovenia, in principle, advocates the preservation of economic links.

Rupel Interviewed on Political Future

AU2510182191 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Oct 91 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel by Ryszard Bilski; place and date not given: "In Slovenian Purgatory"]

[Text] [Bilski] How would you describe Slovenia's present position on the political map of Europe?

[Rupel] It reminds one of the state of purgatory.... It has been decided to transfer us to paradise, but we will still have to wait a little. At The Hague on Friday [18 October], we said that we agree with the general plan for resolving Yugoslavia's problems, but we see ourselves as an independent state.

[Bilski] Can these two things be reconciled with one another?

[Rupel] With the last Hague document what we accept above all (it was adopted with a vote of five in favor one against) was what was stated in the first part of it about creating sovereign states.

However, we would not like to participate in the construction of a new Yugoslavia, and we would not want to belong to it. We view the Hague agreement as a menu, and we are choosing those things from it that we consider to be the best for us. For example, we do not agree with a customs union, because that is nothing other than a return to the federation. We want to base our relations with the other republics on the principles of a free trade zone.

To return to your first question for a moment: The situation in Slovenia, especially the economic situation, is very difficult, as is the situation in many other East European countries. In the 1960's our citizens were living almost as well as our neighbors, the Austrians. However, we have fallen far behind them since then. The war has resulted in enormous losses, and defense has entailed substantial expenditure. Now, funds are in short supply everywhere. The health service, where strikes are starting, is just one example. The Yugoslav National Bank has begun "hostile" action against Slovenia. It has blocked our accounts abroad and has issued instructions that cooperation with our banks and Croatian banks should cease wherever possible. The introduction of a new currency, the tolar, was an act of self-defense in the face of the hyperinflation threatening Serbia and the other republics.

There are difficult days and months ahead of us, and we will have to tighten our belts, but we reckoned with that when we decided to leave the federation in our nationwide plebiscite.

[Bilski] At the Hague, a split has occurred in the Serbian bloc, which was unanimous until now. What consequences might that have?

[Rupel] Montenegro's behavior came as a surprise to everyone. It pleased some, and caused others to worry.... Montenegro finally made it clear to its elder brother in Belgrade that it has a mind of its own and does not need the help of outside advisers, and that it is closer to democratic ideals than one thought. Serbia, on the other hand, has become even more isolated from everyone else by affirming its nationalist goals and ambitions. Today, Europe can no longer say that it does not know what Milosevic wants, that it does not perceive the agonizing experience that Yugoslavia is going through. The last Hague meeting made it perfectly clear that we have to stop talking about how to save Yugoslavia, and begin talking about how to establish relations between sovereign republics. I hope that that has gotten through to the self-styled "SFRY Presidium". What Drnovsek (Slovenia's representative on the SFRY Presidium) failed to achieve in two years—no one wanted to listen to him in Belgrade—was accomplished by Lord Carrington in the space of a month.

[Bilski] It is being said that the split in the Serbian bloc has increased the chance of a lasting agreement, but surely Serbia will not abandon its plans? What is going to happen then?

[Rupel] There are the politicians on the one hand, and the Serbian nation on the other hand. People are primarily concerned about being able to live reasonably, comfortably and do not want war. During talks, it has been stressed that the interests of the Serbian people, not those of the politicians, have to be placed above all else, and the rights of the Serbian people in Croatia have to be protected. Zagreb has to be more flexible in solving the problems of the Serbian minority living in Croatia, and must agree to one set of solutions for areas where there are few Serbs, another set for where there are many Serbs, and to yet another set where Serbs constitute the majority. To accept that that is what is required means that Croatia really is a sovereign state every inch of the way.

[Bilski] So, what is the most likely scenario for the further course of events in Yugoslavia?

[Rupel] I am not a prophet, but it is very likely that four sovereign republics will form some kind of community. I would also not exclude the possibility of Croatia joining such a community, and Slovenia, as an independent state, would be interested in membership of the economic organizations of that community of "four" or "five."

[Bilski] A process of integration is under way in Europe, borders are being opened up, but in Yugoslavia, new borders are being created. Border posts and barriers are being erected.

[Rupel] That is not the paradox that it appears to be at first sight. Slovenia by no means wants to be an island and live in isolation. We do not want to fence ourselves off from Europe, but want to move closer toward it. I like the saying that in order to abolish borders, they have to

exist in the first place. We have tightened our borders, because of the war with Croatia as well as to demonstrate that we are strong enough and organized enough to control our territory. At the same time, and I would like to stress this, we have instituted an extensive opening up of our borders with Austria, Italy, and Hungary. We want to decide about everything by ourselves, and that is why we left the SFRY.

[Bilski] I will continue to try to obtain an interview with the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic. What should I ask him about above all?

[Rupel] Whether he perceives a difference and whether he is aware of the difference between his greater Serbia policy and the policies that are being pursued by statesmen in West? I have to say that Milosevic's policy is about seizing as much land as possible, but what really determines whether a country is powerful is technology, organization, and cooperation.

[Bilski] Your two-day visit to Poland begins on Monday [21 October]. What is the purpose of the visit?

[Rupel] I hope to hold many important political and economic talks. I am glad that I will be able to meet Minister Skubiszewski, for whom I have a very high regard .... we became acquainted during the Dubrovnik meeting of the "six," when the Hexagonale was being formed. I am counting on cooperation within the framework of that grouping, which will no doubt have to be transformed into a polygonale. I am very pleased about going to Warsaw for the first time and I am full of curiosity. I greatly admire the Poles, because they knew how to behave in the difficult situations that history has so unstintingly imposed on them. I am going to a country that I feel I have a close affinity with in view of our common roots, the religion that links us, and the same strong resistance to all forms of occupation.

Assembly Debates Law on Privatization, Citizenship

AU2510152691 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Report by Helena Lovincic on address by Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle to the Slovene Assembly in Ljubljana on 24 October]

[Excerpts] In his introduction, Joze Zupancic, president of the Chamber of Associated Labor, repeated assessments and statements Prime Minister Peterle made regarding the Chamber's work, saying that it is blocking and delaying the adoption of the Privatization Law and serving narrow private interests, especially the interests of some managers in the Chamber. The claims that this Chamber is an anachronism and a bastion of the socialist system were also offensive.

In his reply, Lojze Peterle did not question the legitimacy of the Chamber, but insisted on his assertion that it is indeed an anachronism. He denied accusing the Chamber of blocking the law out of personal interests, stating that he expressed an assumption that in blocking the law they could serve personal interests. However, he allegedly could not find another expression for the word blockade.

Peterle rejected the Chamber's reproach that experts were not included in the preparation of the legislation, saying that such a stance is degrading for the government since somebody with a doctorate from Harvard University cannot be denied as having competence, and the proposers of the law, Minister Umek and Pleskovic, are also professionals. He continued by saying that the government took into account numerous proposals, including those of the opposition, and that it is hurting everybody if nationalization and privatization are not implemented soon. He said that he does not condemn the Chamber, and only ascertains that the process is in effect stalled.

Let me sum up the debate by Zdravko Zabukovec, who stressed that this Chamber gives priority to economic issues and social activities rather than pure politics, and that it presents an obstacle to the threat of single-mindedness. The problem of privatization is politically and professionally extremely demanding since it can cause revolutions and wars. He expressed reproach for unjustifiably underestimating Slovene experts, and outlined a framework of priorities within the law that must promote independent effectiveness of enterprises, decentralization of decisionmaking, and take care of justice and legal safety. At the end, the debate was watered down. No decision was made on how the Chamber will act in the future regarding this law, since the coordination committee has fallen apart and the Chamber has not put this topic on today's agenda. [passage omitted]

The Socio-Political Chamber decided to issue a statement today, on United Nations Day, on striving for the immediate acceptance of Slovenia in this organization and for a more active UN role in solving the crisis in Croatia.

Even before the meeting with Lojze Peterle, the Chamber of Associated Labor adopted an amendment and a revision of the Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia which prevents granting citizenship to persons who are proven guilty of participating in aggression against Slovenia before the court. [passage omitted]

Maribor Industries Face Production Downturns

LD2710130991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1143 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Maribor, October 27 (TANJUG)—Experts assess that production will this year be 40 percent less than in the mid-80s in the largest industrial center of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia—Maribor.

It is economic stability that is needed for the smooth development of the automobile, machine, metal-processing, chemical and other industries, which require

longer time for the capital to revolve. Also, such industries would have to have sure markets, which were long lacking due to war, divisions and blockades in the country.

For this reason, foreign and domestic investors have no interest to invest, so that Maribor was turning into a city of technologically obsolete and worn out industries compared to the developed industrial center it once had been. The local population compares Maribor to Gdansk in Poland in terms of the degree of social conflicts and poverty. The number of employed last year dropped one-tenth, while the number of unemployed rose 67 percent by the end of 1989.

According to the latest analyses of the republican statistical office, the drop in industrial production and exports, loss of the markets in the southern parts of Yugoslavia and the growing illiquidity threatened to place Slovenia among the countries with the highest unemployment rate. It is assessed that the current number of unemployed, around 83,000, could by the end of the first three months next year exceed 100,000. Redundancies are put at around 130,000.

The Maribor economy was iuncreasingly frequently facing the problem of southern markets, a problem which erupted after introducing a border with neighboring Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and excluding the Yugoslav currency—dinar—from circulation.

Slovenia on October 7 proclaimed independence, introduced its own currency—tolar. Businessmen warn of problems concerning raw and production materials supply, as well as collection of payments and blockades in transportation.

Croatia

Tudjman Comments on Latest Hague Consultations

LD2510231891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Darko Herceg report on a news conference by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb "this evening" upon his return from the Hague]

[Text] Assessing today's round of the Hague conference, President Tudjman brief comment was: Nothing new. The draft provision of an agreement on possible mutual relations between future independent and sovereign republics from the territory of the former Yugoslavia—Lord Carrington himself noted that such a state no longer existed—are slightly more moderate than Europe's proposals seven days ago. However, Serbia continues to reject them, because, allegedly, they interrupt the continuity of Yugoslavia.

In other words, President Tudjman said, the problem of resolving the Yugoslav crisis will have to continue to be tackled as early as Monday at the EC ministerial meeting when, in light of today's repeated remarks about who is the aggressor and who the victim, the ministers can be expected to bring some new measures out of their closets.

As a development of special interest, President Tudjman mentioned his tete-a-tete talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, held at the instigation of Lord Carrington, chairman of the Hague conference. He is trying to convince me that Serbia has no territorial claims against Croatia, but is merely concerned about the position of Serbs in Croatia. Therefore I asked him, Dr. Tudjman added, to urge General Kadijevic to stop the attacks on Dubrovnik, on Vukovar, on Croatia, and to lift the blockade of our ports and of Croatian air space.

[Begin Tudjman recording] The president of Serbia promised [to do this]. It gives me pleasure to inform you that as soon as I entered this new, I hope temporary, headquarters I received a dispatch that my office had received a report from the cabinet from Belgrade. I must point out, that the Yugoslav Army will end its attacks on Dubrovnik, that it will lift the blockade of the ports and our air space so that what we agreed on can be implemented, and thus cut short the war and the bloodshed and bring peace. Let us hope that those who started this war and are now waging it against Croatia have realized that there is no other way but this one. This war, I reiterated at The Hague, has caused horrific suffering, casualties, and destruction to Croatia, but will bring nothing good to Serbia in the future either.

Let us hope that because they failed to break us despite the force at their disposal and despite their threats over the last few days and also because of the support we have gained from the international community, let us hope that we are on the path to peace. [end recording]

Daily: 'Shadow Cabinet' To Be Formed in Croatia

LD2710130391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1222 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 27 (TANJUG)—The "creation of a new, anti-fascist shadow cabinet" is to expected in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, as the Belgrade daily POLITIKA said today, citing sources from the "leadership of a political party." "Everything has already been prepared for this move—new deputies and ministers are already there," POLITIKA said, adding that the move could be expected within the next ten days. The new government would be made up exclusively of Croats, "but those opposing the present authorities," the daily set out. It said the cabinet's founding meeting would be held in Croatia.

Army Demands Dubrovnik Paramilitary Surrender

LD2510215191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2043 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Herceg Novi, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—"Dubrovnik is under a total sea and land blockade. The Boka Naval Sector Command will try to establish contact with the

authorities in the town to demand the surrender and disarming of paramilitary units," a statement issued by the Boka Naval District this evening stresses. "Synchronized operations by Yugoslav People's Army units at sea and on land enabled us to very swiftly neutralize the enemy's resistance points. The Army has taken Dubac and Brgat and is in control of the Kupari-Dubac-Brgat-Ivanica communication lines. Our engineer units have begun an operation to disable mines and to restore these communication lines. "Units of the Boka Naval Sector suffered no casualties", the statement concludes.

Croatia Rejects 'Ultimatum'

LD2710080991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Croatia has not accepted the ultimatum in connection with Dubrovnik, Croatian Army Colonel Imra Agotic has said after talks at the Intercontinental Hotel. The ultimatum, forwarded to the EC mission members and the Dubrovnk crisis headquarters by General Pavle Strugar, proposes that all weapons in the Dubrovnik region be surrendered to the Army. During the talks between the supreme command of the Croatian army and the Yugoslav People's Army it was agreed to allow a group of journalists to go to Dubrovnik.

Dubrovnik Refers Peace Plan to Zagreb

LD2710214391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Trebinje, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—The authorities of Dubrovnik have referred the 11-point Army proposal for normalizing the situation in the city to the government and relevant bodies in Zagreb. The authorities are of the view that they are not competent to make such an important decision and will wait for the leadership in Zagreb to give its view and standpoints.

This is, in brief, the gist of a reply which representatives of the Dubrovnik municipality this evening sent to the Hercegovina operative group command. The command received the reply at exactly 2000 this evening as proposed by the Yugoslav People's Army in its 11-point peace package.

According to the information at the disposal of the Hercegovina operative group command, the command did not expect the reply to be different since the authorities in Dubrovnik have so far shown no readiness for either cooperation or agreement. This indicates that the authorities in Dubrovnik are not interested in preserving the ancient city and its historic heritage and that it has to consult Zagreb about all more important decisions, the war bulletin issued by the military information service in Trebinje this evening says.

Announcement on Return to Dubrovnik Convoy

LD2710165191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] The Republic of Croatia Information Ministry has just sent us the following appeal addressed to the citizens of Dubrovnik and of all Croatia and to all Croats and all people of goodwill:

In the war of conquest which Serbia has been waging against the Republic of Croatia the jewel among Croatian cities, our Dubrovnik is facing its crucial moment. The occupying forces have been forcing the people of Dubrovnik to abandon their city, and demanding that the flag of our homeland Croatia be taken down. Throughout its history Dubrovnik has welcomed all, all religions, people from all over the world, artists, scientists, everyone. Dubrovnik is the city of human rights.

The time has come to pay our debts to Dubrovnik. Not a single citizen of Dubrovnik should have to leave the city. Let all people of Dubrovnik return to their city. From today all Croats and all good people are citizens of Dubrovnik. Let us hasten to Dubrovnik.

A convoy for the return to Dubrovnik will set off on the Jadrolinija ships from Split at 1800 Tuesday. Departure from Zagreb is on Monday at 1300 outside Hotel Dubrovnik either by coach or private car. A ship will leave from Rijeka to Split tomorrow, Monday, at 1800. The convoy for the return of the citizens of Dubrovnik to Dubrovnik will be joined by several hundred fishing boats.

On this ocasion we are calling on all boat owners to join the convoy. All necessary information will be available from the Split port authorities.

Vice Premier Says Delegation To Visit Dubrovnik

LD2710014391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0000 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Croatian Vice Prime Minister Zdravko Tomac told Croatian TV this evening that the Croatian government passed a decision this afternoon, in agreement with the army authorities, that a group of military attaches in Belgrade and foreign and domestic journalists will visit Dubrovnik tomorrow. According to him, they would be subsequently joined by representatives of the European mission, the Croatian Government, and the Croatian Assembly. The government also called on European parliaments as well as all humanitarian organizations to send their representatives and help Dubrovnik. The Croatian Government, Tomac said, called on the citizens of Dubrovnik to remain in their hometown.

Army Remains in Control of Dubrovnik Approaches

LD2610091291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0817 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Trebinje, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—Units of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] remained positioned on the approaches to Dubrovnik last night and this morning without the intention of advancing. Last night was mainly quiet. The approaches to the town are under the complete control of the Army.

In yesterday's action the Army suffered no losses and now also controls maritime traffic. Members of the Croatian paramilitary forces withdrew yesterday with heavy losses. These are the main points of the war bulletin issued this morning by the information service of the YPA operations group for Hercegovina in Trebinje.

The statement which was issued to journalists this morning says: "Following violations of the cease-fire and the resolute response of the forces of the YPA, the Ustasha units withdrew yesterday with heavy losses to defense positions 2-3 kms from the city of Dubrovnik, which is under blockade. It has been observed that the Ustashas are continuing to bring in reinforcements from the direction of Neum and Ston.

Yesterday members of the Croatian paramilitary forces opened fire from the areas of Bosanka, Dubac, Belvedere, and from the island of Lokrum at units of the YPA on the mainland and at sea. Units of the YPA, in joint actions by the armored mechanized forces of the infantry and ships of the Yugoslav Navy pushed back the Ustasha forces to the approaches to Dubrovnik and gained control of the approach to the city. Maritime traffic is also under control. Yesterday the ship Krila Dubrovnika (Wings of Dubrovnik) was allowed to dock after agreeing to checks being carried out by the YPA. The ship was arriving from Bari with foodstuffs.

"In yesterday's actions the YPA suffered no losses. Representatives of the YPA and the city of Dubrovnik began talks yesterday on the normalization of life in the town," the information service of the YPA operations group for Hercegovina stresses.

Croatians Open Fire on EC Monitors in Dubrovnik

LD2710213291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Trebinje, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] operative group for Hercegovina stated this evening that Croatian armed forces today drastically violated the cease-fire by opening fire from the island of Lokrum on the ship Argus, which was carrying the EC mission. Around 1400 GMT members of the mission were on their return journey from Cavtat where they had taken part in negotiations regarding the normalization of life in Dubrovnik, which was also attended by representatives of the YPA operative group command and the authorities of Dubrovnik, says a war bulletin issued this evening by the information service of the YPA operative group for Hercegovina in Trebinje.

The bulletin adds that the Yugoslav People's Army is fully observing the cease-fire, but members of the Croatian forces have violated the cease-fire today by opening mortar and gunfire on the positions of the Yugoslav People's Army. The YPA operative group for Hercegovina says further that the Croatian paramilitary forces are using the cease-fire to bring in fresh units and regroup their units on land and sea, which shows that they are carrying out intensive preparations for battle activities. The YPA forces are currently engaged in normalizing the situation in the area which is under their control from Cavtat to Dubac, and in repairing damaged roads mined by members of the Croatian armed units.

It was announced this evening that journalists will be able to visit Dubrovnik tomorrow by the ship Argus. After a blockade which has lasted for several days this will be the first visit to Dubrovnik.

An official statement on the talks regarding the normalization of life in Dubrovnik is to be issued late this evening. The ferry Slavija left the port of Gruz today, evacuating the citizens of Dubrovnik to Split.

YPA Captures Tordinci Village North of Vinkovci

LD2610110691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Osijek, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—Units of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and Serbian territorials last night entered the village of Tordinci some 10 km to the north of Vinkovci. The village, according to Army sources, is completely under the control of the Army. The Army sources say that in the fighting for Tordinci the Croatian forces lost some 30 men, and that as many were wounded. The command of the YPA unit which took part in the fighting estimates that the village was defended by about 300 members of the Croatian forces.

Through the village of Tordinci runs the only paved road which links the Serbian villages of Ada, Markusica, Sodolovci and other places between Osijek and Vinkovci. After long rains it had become almost impossible to maintain contacts via the farm tracks through the corn fields, so that the capture of Tordinci is of great importance.

The Army sources did not report on losses on the side of the YPA and territorials.

Croatian Radio this morning reported nothing about the clashes in Tordinci. The radio mentioned the village of Laslovo, a few kilometers north of Tordinci, saying that the Croatian forces had "repulsed an infantry advance" on that village by the Yugoslav Army.

Blockade of Ploce Port on Adriatic Ends

LD2610041991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2114 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Mostar, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—At about 1800 this evening, the Molut cargo ship, carrying 35,000 tons of anthracite for a coking plant in Lukavac, sailed into the port of Ploce, which finally marked the end of the blockade of this port, which is vital for the supply of raw materials and semi-finished products as well as for the functioning of Bosnia-Hercegovina's economy as a whole. [passage omitted]

Roundup of Clashes in Vukovar, Dubrovnik, Slavonia

LD2710003891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2014 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Banja Luka/Vukovar/Dubrovnik, Oct 26 (TANJUG)—The fiercest fighting in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia took place this afternoon near Podravska Slatina in the northwestern section of the battlefront in the region of Slavonia, the command of the Banja Luka corps of the Yugoslav People's Army announced today. The command said that the Croatian armed forces had unsucessfully attacked with infantry arms, including mortars, the Serbian territorial defence positions in the broader area of Podravska Slatina. It added that the Croatian side had heavy casualties and losses in equipment.

All villages around Podravska Slatina and those in the direction of Slavonska Pozega are controlled by the territorial defence of Western Slavonia, the Army said. There have been no major clashes near Nova Gradiska, Novska, Jasenovac and Lipik on the border with Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, TANJUG's correspondent reports intrusions by commando teams in the area.

According to military sources, in Vukovar, a town on the border between the republics of Croatia and Serbia, fighting continued this afternoon between Croatian paramilitary formations and Yugoslav Army units. There have been no reports about casualties. Sources close to the command of a Yugoslav Army unit stationed near Vukovar say that the fighting has not intensifed since yesterday.

Croatian radio reports "heavy fighting" in Vukovar and its surroundings where "Croatian forces repelled an attack by Yugoslav Army tanks and infantry". The radio claims that Croatian forces attacked Yugoslav Army positions in the village of Marinci, halfway between the towns of Vinkovci and Vukovar. According to the radio, both sides have brought tanks into the fighting.

Military sources, however, say that there were no major clashes in Marinci today, that the positions of Yugoslav Army units in this village were attacked last night and tonight and that both attacks were repelled. The Army had no casualties.

Units of the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian territorial defence last night entered Tordinci, a Croatian forces' stronghold some ten kilometres north of Vinkovci, military sources said this morning. The village is now controlled by the Army. Croatian radio said in a broadcast this afternoon that "a fierce battle for Tordinci is under way".

TANJUG's correspondent reports that there were no ceasefire violations in the Dubrovnik area today. Talks between city authorities and the Army are expected to resume tomorrow. According to unconfirmed reports, about 3,000 Dubrovnik residents have approached the Red Cross with the request to leave the city.

Government Discusses War Situation, Media's Role

LD2710013191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] The focus of attention at today's session of the Croatian Government was the discussion of the situation on Croatian battlefields, primarily the situation in Vukovar and Dubrovnik. A conclusion was reached that everything must be done to help these towns and other threatened areas that are under attack by aggressive forces of the Yugo-soldiery and Chetnik outlaws. The government decided to provide help by all means for defenders of these battlefields, and therefore it will continue its intensive military and diplomatic activities in order to prevent the genocide of the Croatian people, i.e., the occupation that has been imposed on the people, who have been threatened for a long time now.

The Croatian Government endorsed a draft proposal of a decree on the information activities in the time of war, or if the independence and unity of the Republic of Croatia are directly threatened. The most important issue in the decree is the preservation of the full democratic nature of the work of all public media provided that they take into consideration the position of the Republic of Croatia. The only condition that has to be fulfilled without fail is that the public information media must be included in the defense system, bearing in mind that in specific circumstances public information media must be fully employed in the fight for the interests of the Republic of Croatia.

Paper Reports 'Purges' in Croatian TV

LD2610041291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2025 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, Oct 25 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb weekly DANAS writes in its latest issue about purges in Croatian television which, in its view, growingly resembles the Warsaw ghetto.

The weekly writes that Croatian television has introduced third generation of identity papers for its approved workers, applying unclear criteria. DANAS compares this move on the part of Croatian television to

the conduct of Germans in World War Two, who had introduced special passes for the inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto, the failure to own which had led straight to the concentration camp.

The weekly writes that, when the management of this television house decides to discharge some of its employees, it simply issues another set of passes, nonholders of which cannot enter the office building. The freshly discharged learn of the latest personnel reshuffle from the doorman, DANAS writes. The latest, third list has omitted the names of another 650 workers, leaving about 1,500 still in the game, DANAS writes.

The weekly goes on to say that the Zagreb daily VJESNIK has put on hold 55 reporters, for insufficiently explained reasons.

Croatian Radio, TV Director on Programs, Staffing

LD2710083891 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Interview with Antun Vrdoljak, Croatian Radio and Television general director, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] The Croatian Radio and Television [HRTV] Executive Committee has issued a public statement stressing that the enemy, apart from destroying cultural monuments and churches, had also launched fierce attacks on their transmitters which are the most valuable part of the HRTV property as a whole. The statement says that the program had been reduced and quality had become poorer, and that even today, HRTV did not cover certain areas of the Republic of Croatia. Due to reduced program output a large number of people found themselves without jobs. In this connection we asked the HRTV General Director Antun Vrdoljak several questions. Mr. Vrdoljak, has anyone been dismissed?

[Vrdoljak] No, in fact, yes—those who left the job of their own accord heading in various directions from Knin to Titova Korenica. They failed to return within five days and were thus dismissed. This is laid down by the law and is legal. As for other issues, as mentioned in the statement, it is true that we now have only one instead of three programs. The fact is that 10 of our 12 transmitters have been either destroyed or seized and it is a wonder that we can see a picture at all. We cover a considerable part of Croatia which has been eaten away, if I can describe it like this. We cover all the territory which has electricity, i.e., it no longer depends on us but on power plants and the electronics industry.

We have a serious problem, a surplus of workers, because of program reductions. There people are on waiting lists, according to the strictest criteria. They are guaranteed 70 percent of their incomes and will be returned to production as soon as we can have our previous program output. I read in NEDELJNA DALMACIJA and in today's issue of DANAS that the general public is surprised by the fact that 620 people have been put on waiting lists and cannot figure out the criterium. They say these are not all Serbs or former Communists-Bolsheviks, or even members of alternative political parties. What is therefore the criterium—that you do not want someone any more, that he has become surplus to requirement. We have still not [words indistinct] this criterium. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Do you have a message for our viewers?

[Vrdoljak] I do. When I was appointed to this post I promised to reduce the number of employees, because there was a surplus. At present, this is being done, more slowly than I expected. When I was appointed I promised that we would turn this organization into a cathedral of Croatian spirit and we are trying to do so. But we are experiencing serious hardship. We have not raised our license fee for the past 11 months. A monthly HRTV license once used to equal the price of 20 to 30 daily newspapers but now it equals eight. This is the current proportion.

Second, I would like to say that we are not taking money for license fees from 60 percent of our territory because of war conditions and who knows when we will be able to collect these payments. The Croatian economy currently owes us 75,000 billion [currency not specified] and it will also be difficult to get this amount of money back. The exemption will cover factories in war-stricken or poverty-stricken areas. It is a wonder that we can produce this program at all. We had an additional monthly expense of 1,300,000 dinars for satellite coverage of areas cut off by a shortage of transmitters. I therefore beg our viewers to exercise patience. We have now restored the children's program which had stopped.

We played on only one string: war, war, and war, as long as the people's drug addiction to war lasted. However, war has now become a habit and we are going to play on all four strings. We already have part of the second program in which we are introducing what the injured and the soldiers have requested some music and entertainment because they have had more than enough of war. We therefore beg for patience. We will continue with our project to create a cathedral of Croatian spirit and I am deeply convinced that we are as close to achieving that as we are to achieving Croatian sovereignty and independence.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Mr. Vrdoljak.

Krajina Announces 'General, Total' Mobilization

AU2610145791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Rade Brankov report from Knin]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] About 10 minutes ago the Government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina issued a statement. To carry out the order of the

SFRY Presidency on mobilization, the government has issued the order that general and total mobilization be carried out on the territory of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina. All social enterprises will work for defense under war conditions.

Krajina Supports SFRY Presidency

LD2710014691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2250 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, Oct 26 (TANJUG)—Milan Babic, prime minister of the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, ordered this evening a general mobilization of all Army conscripts and reservists in the region, whose autonomy is not recognized by the authorities of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. Krajina's government also said the region's economy and all social services would now go over to a regime of work in conditions of war.

It also extended its support to the Belgrade declaration and to the Yugoslav Presidency's platform for resolving the crisis in the country. The Yugoslav Presidency sees Yugoslavia as a federation of the republics and autonomous provinces who have an interest in remaining in it, and the Yugoslav Army as the armed forces of a Yugoslavia in that form.

Under the Belgrade declaration, which was signed by the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro and the representatives of the Serbian people in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Yugoslavia would be modern federation of those peoples who have not opted to leave it.

The Serbs in Croatia oppose the unilateral decision by that republic to secede from Yugoslavia. The areas where they live have since June been the scene of clashes between Croatia's paramilitary formations on the one side and the local Serbs and Yugoslav People's Army on the other.

The platform of the Yugoslav Presidency represents a good foundation for resolving the status of Krajina in the future Yugoslavia, Krajina's government said today. The government also voiced its full support for the efforts being exerted by the Yugoslav Presidency aimed at "preserving the state and legal continuity of Yugoslavia and its status as an international legal entity."

Ex-Deputy Interior Minister Allegedly Arrested

LD2710145191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1307 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 27 (TANJUG)—Milan Brezak, until recently the assistant interior minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, has been arrested in Zagreb, as the Belgrade daily POLITIKA said today, citing well-informed sources. No official commentaries have been released, but two versions of the event leaked out, as POLITIKA set out.

It said that, according to a version, Brezak was arrested on charges of being involved in the murder of Ante Paradzik, the vice-president of the Croatian Party of Rights. Leader of the party is Dobroslav Paraga, the Croatian radical nationalist, who accuses Croatian President Franjo Tudjman of his excessively moderate policy.

According to the other more likely version, as the daily said, Brezak was arrested within a group of "21 KOS members," that is members of the military counterintelligence service. The group, mostly made up of Serbs and described as "spying-diversionary," was arrested in Zagreb this month.

Serbia

Sandzak Referendum on Autonomy Begins 25 Oct

LD2510163391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1128 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Novi Pazar, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The announced referendum on Sandzak's autonomy was set in motion today, Serbia's Party of Democratic Action claims. In Noviz Pazar, at the headquarters of this Party's municipal branch, which also houses its press center, one polling station was opened at 0900 this morning. A second polling station was opened in Novi Pazar's sixth local community at 1030.

In Sjenica and Tutin, the other Sandzak municipalities in Serbia where the Muslim population is in the majority, there is no public voting as yet. We have unofficially learned that tonight in some areas a secret vote was organized for members of the Muslim people.

They voted on Sandzak's political and territorial autonomy in their homes. There is a great deal of rumor that police reinforcements have arrived in Sandzak's municipalities, although there are no excesses and nothing unusual can be seen in the streets.

It is envisaged that the referendum will be held in six municipalities of Serbia and five municipalities of Montenegro, including Plav, where the local authorities claim that it has never been a part of Sandzak.

Correspondent's Report From Novi Pazar

AU2510145291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0935 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Telephone interview with Rade Veljanovski, Belgrade Radio correspondent in Novi Pazar, by unnamed program editor—live]

[Excerpts] [Question] Good morning, Colleague Veljanovski.

[Veljanovski] Good morning.

[Question] It seems that the Muslims' referendum on the autonomy of Sandzak is being held today.

[Veljanovski] Yes, there has been no doubt about that, of course, since yesterday's news conference held by Mr. Rasim Ljajic, secretary of the Party of Democratic Action for Serbia. After this, of course, the public was informed that the Muslim National Council of Sandzak would not give up the referendum on the independence of Sandzak, so the referendum is being held over these three days, beginning today. True, this is not easy to see when one walks through Sandzak towns. Here in Novi Pazar, for instance, only one place where people are voting publicly has been found, and that is on the premises of the Party of Democratic Action on the First of May Street in Novi Pazar. The rest of the job is probably being carried out using the method mentioned by Rasim Ljajic yesterday, that is, voting in houses.

We have received some information that perhaps this job has already been concluded in some places. For instance, information has leaked out that voting was concluded in Tutin on the night before last. This is, of course, impossible to prove.

A news conference has been planned for today at 1100 [1000 GMT] at the headquarters of the Party of Democratic Action for Serbia here in Novi Pazar, so I suppose we are going to be given some information in this connection.

By the way, I can say that it is completely calm here in Novi Pazar and the vicinity, that there are no excesses and we hope that this will continue. It has only been noticed that a number of children, mostly ethnic Serb children, are absent from schools, all schools, and this is particularly noticeable in the Zenon Haskovic Secondary School here in Novi Pazar. [passage omitted]

[Question] We have today talked with Colleague Colovic from The Hague and asked him about the visit Sulejman Ugljanin, leader of the Party of Democratic Action from Sandzak, is paying to The Hague. Do you have any information about that from Novi Pazar itself? What is being said there about this visit?

[Veljanovski] It is the same thing that has been said here for months. Sulejman Ugljanin is in The Hague for the second time, therefore this is not the first time. What the [Muslim] National Council wants Sulejman Ugljanin to achieve there in The Hague is to present the demand according to which Muslims in Serbia and Montenegro should be given the same thing that the Serbs demand for themselves in Croatia. Therefore, the parallel is made of the Muslims in Serbia and Montenegro and Serbs in Croatia having the same fate, regardless of the fact the this cannot be substantiated. [passage omitted]

[Question] What do Serbs in Sandzak say now?

[Veljanovski] Well, Serbs in Sandzak are for some reason silent. First of all, Serbs really represent a minority in the towns such as Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Tutin, and this is where, unfortunately, we journalists mostly are and we have to be there because it is there that one mostly gathers information. Their parties act accordingly, so their stands could not be heard very much recently. Therefore, when one talks with these people, they reiterate all the time that life together has been good for many years and they mostly express a desire for the situation to remain so. Of course, Serbs mostly think that there is no need for autonomy, that one can live well without it, and that Muslims' interests can be met as well. [passage omitted]

Serbia Bans Sandzak Referendum

LD2510163791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Novi Pazar, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The referendum on the autonomy of Sandzhak has been banned, the leaders of the main committee of the Party of Democratic Action for Serbia [SDA] were told around midday today. This was reported to a press conference by Asim Ljajic, secretary of the SDA for Serbia.

Ljajic said that despite the ban, voting will be continued in secret, and that in the villages more than 60% of registered voters have already cast their vote. In Novi Pazar itself two polling stations were opened this morning but were closed after the official ban by a representative of the republican Ministry for Internal Affairs. According to Ljajic, the same thing happened in all Sandzhak municipalities.

News Conference on Closing of Polls

AU2510170491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Rade Veljanovski report from Novi Pazar]

[Excerpt] The Novi Pazar Communal Executive Council held an expanded session this morning at which members of the Communal Territorial Defense Staff, the Secretariat of National Defense, and the Secretariat for Internal Affairs also took part. It was decided to ban all movement along Miodrag Jovanovic Street, which passes between military facilities. The decision took effect at 1400 [1300 GMT] and applies to all vehicles and passengers.

Colonel Dusan Culibrk, commander of the Novi Pazar Garrison, spoke at the session of the Executive Council. He presented a report on his unit's increased security and readiness because there have already been some provocations against guards recently.

When asked by a journalist why gun and tank barrels are turned toward the town, Col. Culibrk replied that this is normal and that barrels are never turned toward the barracks.

Such statements by Culibrk, as well as the ban on continuing the referendum after the republican internal affairs organs intervened at the headquarters of the Party of Democratic Action, caused harsh reaction on the part of Rasim Ljajic, secretary of the Serbian Party of Democratic Action. Speaking at a news conference, Ljajic

said that Col. Culibrk threatened to use heavy weaponry and the Army, which, in Ljajic's opinion, means an attempt to prevent democratic voting by the Sandzak people with repression.

Polling stations have been closed down without incident. Voting will be continued in houses and, anyway, the large part of the job has already been done, Ljajic said. He illustrated his claim by the data that over 60 percent of registered voters have already voted in Novi Pazar and over 67 percent in Tutin. According to the party's reports, more than 60 percent of registered voters have voted in the villages of (?the entire) Sandzak.

Ljajic announced that in some places the referendum will be concluded already today and that it will be completely concluded probably tomorrow. After visiting some of the polling stations journalists could see this for themselves.

Rasim Ljajic told journalists that five members of the Party of Democratic Action from Kosovo were arrested last night when returning from Kosovska Mitrovica to Pec. Because of these and other measures of pressure, the secretary of the Party of Democratic Action said, a member of the peace mission, Van Houten, will be invited to see personally about these gestures by the authorities.

According to reports we received from Sjenica and Tutin, there was no public voting there.

Until the closing of the polling stations here in Novi Pazar, there have been no incidents and the militia has not been seen near any of the polling stations. [passage omitted]

Final Results Expected 30 Oct

AU2610155391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Rade Veljanovski report from Novi Pazar]

[Text] Out of all the news conferences that were held in Novi Pazar today, the most attended one was the news conference by the Party of Democratic Action. Rasim Ljajic, secretary of the party, first announced that 79 percent of those entered on the lists in this town voted by 1100 [1000 GMT], and that out of 20,000 citizens of Tutin, 13,500 have voted. Out of those who voted in the referendum in Tutin, 99.58 percent voted in favor of autonomy, Ljajic said.

He said that the reports that the referendum is not being held in Bijelo Polje, Prijepolje, Priboj, and other communes in Serbia and Montenegro are not true, and that the referendum in these places is held in strict secrecy, because, as he said, Muslims are afraid of repression. In Sjenica, for instance, voting was public in only one location, until it was banned by the militia which, according to Ljajic, stormed shops and houses insulting people. The Party of Democratic Action will announce the final results of the referendum in Sarajevo on 30 October, because Sandzak is under an information blockade, the secretary of the Party of Democratic Action for Serbia said, stressing that his party supports the Hague proposal according to which special status should be granted to all peoples in all republics and not only to Serbs in Croatia.

The news conference organized by the Muslim Bosniak Party began at 1400. The representatives of the party first reacted to the manipulation by Belgrade media, which mentions the Party of Democratic Action as the only organizer of the referendum in Sandzak. The organizer is the Muslim National Council. The Party of Democratic Action, the Muslim Bosniak Organization, the Renaissance Society, the Merhamed Association, the organizations of the Reform Forces of Plav and Bijelo Polje, and the Association of Sandzak Writers are all equal members of the council. Journalists were also told that the Muslim Bosniak Organization demands that the commander of the Raska garrison, Colonel Dusan Culibrk, be replaced because of what he said yesterday.

The third news conference, which was in fact held first, was organized by the Serbian Renewal Movement for the Raska region. Party President Radenko Jokovic said that his party considered the referendum on the autonomy of Sandzak unnecessary and senseless, stressing that it was the Serbs that were threatened in this region and not Muslims. Jokovic said that the Serbian authorities are responsible for many omission that led to tense relations in this region.

The situation in Novi Pazar and around it is quiet, and there have been no incidents so far.

Serbian Parties Comment on Referendum

LD2610205091 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1921 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Novi Pazar, Oct 26 (TANJUG)—Rasim Ljajic, the secretary for the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) for Serbia, said today that the response of the Muslims to the illegal referendum on the autonomy of Sandzak had been "impressive." Ljajic said the results of the referendum, which was started in secret on Friday noon, would be announced on Wednesday at a news conference in Sarajevo, the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH).

Sandzak is a region which lies mostly on the territory of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, but also partly in the neighbouring Yugoslav Republics of BiH and Montenegro.

According to the results of a census conducted earlier this year, the population of Sandzak as a whole consists of 51 per cent Serbs and 43 percent Muslims, but the Muslims make up the majority in three communes in that part of Sandzak which lies in Serbia—Novi Pazar, Tutin and Sjenica.

The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia has warned that the vote of Muslims on a territorial and political autonomy of Sandzak was illegal.

The referendum was initiated by the SDA's branch in Novi Pazar, the central town of Sandzak. The SDA has its headquarters in Sarajevo, and assembles exclusively Muslims in Yugoslavia.

Ras, an association of Serbs in Novi Pazar, said today that the referendum on Sandzak's autonomy had been organized with the aim of provoking disturbances in this region of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, so as to "officially open the long-announced southern front."

Radenko Jokovic, president of the branch of Serbia's biggest opposition party, the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), said that the vote on autonomy "widens the split between the Serbs and the Muslims." Jokovic said the scenario of the SDA's political moves for Novi Pazar was being prepared in "Sarajevo, Zagreb, and perhaps even in Tehran." The aim of the referendum is "separating Serbia from Montenegro by the creation of an Islamic state" which would link the central Yugoslav Republic of BiH and the southern Serbian province of Kosovo, Jokovic said.

Referendum 'Historic Act for Muslims'

AU2710165091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] There was another news conference about the referendum on the autonomy of Sandzak in Novi Pazar today. This time the reporters were personally addressed by Sulejman Ugljanin, president of the Muslim National Council and the Party of Democratic Action for Serbia. It was stressed again that the referendum was a historic act for Muslims and that the results of the referendum will be carried out in practice. Rade Veljanovski reports from Novi Pazar:

[Veljanovski] The news conference was opened by Rasim Ljajic, secretary of the Party of Democratic Action for Serbia, by saying that this was the way to denounce all Culibrks, alluding to the commander of the Raska garrison, Colonel Dusan Culibrk, and his supporters in POLITIKA and other Belgrade papers who claim that the referendum was organized by a group of hooligans. He then said that more than 93 percent of the Muslim population voted in the referendum. From the data gathered by 1100 [1000 GMT], he mentioned Novi Pazar, Tutin, Sjenica, Rozaj, and other places where, according to him, the turnout was between 80 and 90 percent. In Pljevlja, Priboj, and Prijpolje the turnout was between 20 and 38 percent. Of course, he again said that out of those who voted, almost all voted in favor of Sandzak's autonomy. As reporters have already been told, the final results will be announced in Sarajevo on Wednesday [30 October].

Sulejman Ugljanin greeted the journalists with the Muslim greeting, claiming that this meant that the Muslims in this area want peace with all other peoples. Answering the reporters' question on how his meeting fared in The Hague, and what he spoke about there, Ugljanin said:

[Begin Ugljanin recording] I started my speech by welcoming the EC's efforts for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis. I fully agree with the EC's stands and document. However, I protested the fact that the EC proposed a special status for Serbs in Croatia in the first document that was also proposed to us. I said that in this way the EC negated the democratic struggle of the Muslim people of Kosovo and Sandzak, the Albanian people in Kosovo, Vojvodina Hungarians, Vojvodina Croats, and Vlachs, who all have the right to the same thing the EC proposed especially for Serbs in Croatia. This means that with that policy the EC was provoking new hot-beds of crisis. They said that in fact the new document, a copy of which was given to me personally, does not contain this, and that the document refers to all peoples. Among other things I told them that according to my information, information that I received from Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, there are about 81,000 Serbs in Knin Krajina and that these Serbs want a special status, while there are more Muslims in Novi Pazar itself than there are Serbs in the entire Knin Krajina. [end recording]

It was also said at the news conference that the results of the referendum will be sent to all the republics of, as stressed, the former Yugoslavia. The referendum itself shows how much power Serbian organs have over Muslims, Ugljanin said. He said that he expected the Serbian people to dismiss the Serbian Assembly because the assembly is not democratic.

The president of the Muslim National Council for Sandzak said that the organs of the autonomous region of Sandzak will establish economic relations with the world without any difficulties. The future of the Sandzak will be decided on by the assembly, which is already working.

The participants in the news conference reiterated the wish for the problems to be resolved in a peaceful way and the preparedness of the Muslim National Council and its supports to fight for their goals until the end.

Democratic League Official on Kosovo Republic

AU2610175491 Tirana ATA in English 1036 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 26 (ATA)—The deputy chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo Anton Kolaj held a regular press conference on October 26 devoted mainly to the forming of the provisional coalition government of the Republic of Kosovo, headed by Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, which he said, was preceded by the agreement of all the political parties of Kosovo.

Further on he greeted the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania, who officially recognized the Republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state. He considered the decision to recognize the Republic of Kosovo by the assembly and the Albanian Government as a wise political and diplomatic act, at a time when all options are executed. Concerning the threats to this act, particularly by the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Anton Kolaj laid the question of what Yugoslavia the Foreign Secretariat speaks of when accusing Albania that it is allegedly threatening territorial integrity. We recall you Belgrade gentlemen that Yugoslavia does no longer exist, he underlined .

Anton Kolaj also laid the stress on the successful visits of the chairmen of the Democratic League of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova to the United States of America. His very very important contacts, the negotiations of Dr. Rugova with several congressmen, senators and outstanding personalities, Mr. Kolaj underlines, arouse the hope that the USA will not spare its support for the democratic solution of the Kosovo issue and the Albanian question in Yugoslavia.

Belgrade Comments on 'Imaginary' State of Kosovo

AU2710195191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from the "Sunday at Ten" program]

[Text] There are no major clashes in Kosovo-Metohija, the territory that used to be the Yugoslav powder keg and that started many processes throughout the country. There are at least no armed clashes. How are the current events in Yugoslavia and abroad reflected on the atmosphere in this province? Milivoje Mihajlovic reports:

[Mihajlovic] The first applause for the proclamation of the so-called independent and sovereign state of Kosovo came, as expected, from Tirana. The chairman of the Albanian Assembly, Kastriot Islami, provoked, as Tirana Television reported, a long and frenetic applause in the parliament with his words of support to independent Kosovo. Of course, the Albanian Assembly invited the international public and the members of the CSCE to recognize the state of Kosovo and in this way demonstrate that they sincerely strive for a just solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

The same gathering extending full support to the so-called transitional coalition government of the Republic of Kosovo and its president, Bujar Bukoshi, a doctor from Pristina who studied in Germany. His first diplomatic trip was, of course, a trip to Bonn. Many people here are ready to claim that German influence on Albanians in Kosovo-Metohija and Albania has suddenly shot up with Bukoshi's election.

The election of the president of the government appears to have rounded off the process of creating the imaginary state of Kosovo. I say imaginary because it mainly exists in the press and the minds of some Albanians. Many elements of statehood are, however, formally present. There is an Assembly of Kosovo, whose delegates live and work in Zagreb and Ljubljana. The president of the government also exists now. Better informed sources in Pristina claim that some former politicians will be elected to the government. The names that have been mentioned are those of Kacusa Jasari, Azem Vlasi, Mahmut Bakali, and others.

The state of Kosovo also has its ministers, the lists of policemen in all places, and the mobilization lists of military units. It also has its own constitution and the results of the referendum which, true, has not been held. However, all this is somewhere between reality and imagination. The only thing that cannot be doubted are regular news conferences in the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the most numerous party in the province. Ibrahim Rugova himself admitted on several occasions that this news conference is the only Albanian institution that functions in Yugoslavia. Everything else is subordinated to one aim: the creation of an illusion of the existence of an Albanian state in this area.

Every detail receives attention. For instance, every Monday the Albanian-language press publishes the results of the matches played in the soccer league in the Republic of Kosovo. They even publish the tables. For those who love soccer let us say that the soccer club Besa of Pristina is on the top of the league. Brief reports from soccer matches contain the names of soccer players and referees. However, the Soccer Association of Kosovo claims that those matches are not even played. The handball and soccer leagues exist only in newspapers, on the paper, just like the state of Kosovo.

People here jokingly say that one should thank this illusion for the current peace in the province, because, as they said, everyone in Kosovo is satisfied. Both Serbs and Albanians have a state. The cynics add: Everyone has the kind of state he deserves. Those who are thinking about the future of Kosovo, however, do not like to joke. Optimists are ready to claim that the recognition of independent Kosovo is the most Tirana can offer to an Albanian here. Pessimists, on the other hand, think that everything that is happening in Yugoslavia has started here and should end here. There is no state that has been created with illusions. If they want a state, Albanian separatists will have to fight for it after all.

The Albanian-language press thinks that the state can be attained without fighting. [passage indistinct]

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Comments on Hague Conference Outcome

LD2610044991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0047 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, October 25 (TANJUG)—On return from The Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia, Alija

Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia's central republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, voiced his impression here this evening that the world is slowly getting accustomed to seeing Yugoslavia as "a future association of sovereign repuiblics."

The Hague conference chairman, Lord Carrington, avoided, "maybe even for the sake of saving the conference," a discussion of The Hague document's most controversial point—the status of Yugoslavia's republics, Izetbegovic told the press.

While commenting on The Hague document's economic part, he came out in favour of a somewhat higher level of close links, Izetbegovic said, and he did so together with the presidents of Yugoslavia's republics of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia as well.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on War, EC Proposal

AU2610174191 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 26 Oct 91 p 4

[Report on interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic by Kurt Seinitz; place and date not given: "Serbia Wants To Be the Sole Heir to Yugoslavia"]

[Text] On the war, Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic said: "We hope to be able to keep the war outside our borders and our multinational tradition, despite the uncontrolled rhetoric of the Serb leaders in our republic. Our sovereignty declaration is intended to create an equal distance to Serbia and Croatia. We will belong to a future Yugoslav community only along with Croatia and Serbia, namely, not with just one of them, but only with both."

—On the Army: "Defense Minister General Kadijevic visited Sarajevo a few days ago, and during his visit it was stated that we do not have any problems with the Army but only with certain reserve units of the Army that will again be withdrawn now."

—On the EC proposal: "Serbia rejects this proposal to transform the country into six sovereign republics because it is anxious to become the only, lawful successor to Yugoslavia. The objective behind it is, as the proprietor of Yugoslavia, to assume all institutions and claims to all assets at home and abroad. However, we say that we are all successors to this state. Serbia says that it is fighting for Yugoslavia, but it has removed the red star from the caps of the soldiers, the only symbol of Yugoslavia that has remained from the era of Tito.

—On border changes: "The EC is right to reject the Serbian proposal to "adapt" the border. After all, if we start doing that in Yugoslavia there will be no end to it. Bosnia is not a state with minorities but a state that consists of three peoples."

—On the Serbs: "Within the EC, Serbia is becoming increasingly isolated, which will, I hope, trigger a process of thinking and adaptation to the new situation. The Titoist system only gave the impression that we are "more Western" and more progressive than the other countries of communist Europe. In reality, we have remained underdeveloped from a social point of view, and isolated as far as our consciousness is concerned—to a worse degree than most other countries. The conflicts erupted when we suddenly found ourselves facing the modern trend."

Authorities Confiscate Bijelo Polje Election Forms

LD2810033191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2150 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Bijelo Polje, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—Large quantities of election documents were discovered and confiscated at several localities in the Bijelo Polje municipality last night and today, TANJUG learned from reliable sources. A large number of completed ballot papers were also confiscated.

Montenegro

Assembly Upholds Republic's Hague Stand

LD2510093691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0556 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Titograd, Oct 25 (TANJUG)—The parliament of Montenegro, early this morning after a nearly nine-hour debate, upheld the stand taken by the delegation of this Yugoslav republic on October 18 at the Hague conference on Yugoslavia. It was concluded that the delegation acted in line with the authorizations it received from the parliament and its stands on the necessity of a peaceful and democratic settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

The delegation of Montenegro, which was headed by President of the Presidency of the Republic Momir Bulatovic, accepted in principle the document which Lord Carrington, in cooperation with representatives of the E.C. countries, proposed at the time as a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

Thus, Serbia has remained the only one of Yugoslavia's six republics which did not accept the proposal of the Hague document on Yugoslavia. The move of the Montenegrin delegation surprised and angered many Montenegrins, traditionally the closest friends of the Serbs with whom they share the same language, religion and flag.

The Montenegrin parliament last night did not accept the proposal of Dr Branko Kostic, vice-president of the Yugoslav Presidency and the republic's representative in the country's highest state organ, that the Montenegrin delegation not sign the Hague document until the people in the republic decide in favour of it through a plebiscite.

The third plenary session of the Hague conference on Yugoslavia opens today in The Hague in which the presidents of all six Yugoslav republics will take part. They will be submitted a new, more polished version of the proposal for settling the Yugoslav crisis.

President Bulatovic at last night's session said, indicating some serious unfavourable alterations in the new text of the document prepared for today's conference in The Hague, that he would ask for an explanation at the very opening of the session.

If the explanation does not radically change the essence of the new elements in the document, it is unlikely that this part of the document can be accepted, Bulatovic said.

"The Hague document will not create a state but it also does not prohibit the creation of a state by those who wish it", he said, still defending the document in general.

There are no absolute differences between the Hague declaration, the so-called Belgrade initiative for settling the Yugoslav crisis and the starting foundations of the Yugoslav Presidency with regard to this—all three take into consideration the existing reality, Bulatovic underscored.

Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic opposed those who believe that the Hague document abolishes Yugoslavia. The abolition and dissociation of Yugoslavia started a long time before the Hague conference, he said.

Between war and the hypothetical peace which The Hague is offering, one should choose the latter, Djukanovic said.

Montenegrin Muslims Ignore Sandzak Referendum

AU2610155591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] The referendum on the autonomy of Sandzak has not been met with wide support among the Muslims in Montenegro. This is confirmed by the fact that even the notices inviting people to take part in the referendum were removed in Rozaj and Plav, where high turnout was expected. In Bijelo Polje, the president of the Party of Democratic Action said that the Muslims will try to resolve their problems through the communal and republican assemblies. The lowest turnout was probably in the Pljevlja commune, where there are about 12,000 Muslims. One of the reasons the referendum has failed is the fact that interethnic relations in these parts of Montenegro are not only tolerant but also good.

Macedonia

Gligorov Agrees 'In Principle' With Hague Accord

LD2610043891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2325 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Skopje, October 25 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov tonight said that the delegation of this republic in principle agrees with the new Hague document for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Upon his return from the third plenary session on Yugoslavia in The Hague, Gligorov said that the Macedonian delegation had had an objection to the special status of national and ethnic groups in the part of the document on human rights. Gligorov added that all provisions on the so-called special status of ethnic groups are already contained in the Macedonian Constitution, and have partly also been applied in practice.

Yugoslav Presidency member from Macedonia Vasil Tupurkovski tonight said that he believed the forming of a parallel program for resolving the crisis by an incomplete state Presidency was dangerous for the security of the country.

Tupurkovski, like the representatives of the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, has not attended Presidency sessions since October 3rd, when this body announced it was starting to work in conditions of an immediate threat of war.

Tupurkovski attended the plenary session in The Hague as a private citizen.

Army Recruits Asked Not To Respond to Callup

LD2510211691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1532 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Skopje, October 25 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has appealed to Yugoslav Army recruits bound to begin their Army service in September or later, as well as to Army reservists not to respond to call-up for Army service or exercise, while the Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro called on those who wish to return from the battlefronts in Croatia to do so.

"We do not recognize the Yugoslav Presidency in its current composition, and see its orders on mobilization as illegitimate. We are not satisfied with the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army and its equipment from Macedonia and believe that a division of Army property should first be carried out," Macedonian Acting Defence Minister Blaze Ristevski said at a regular press conference here on Friday.

Ristevski said that a meeting has been planned between Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and Federal Defence Minister, General Veljko Kadijevic to discuss withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Macedonia.

The Montenegrin Presidency on Thursday evening advised the officers and soldiers of the two Army units sent from that republic to central Croatian town of Dvor Na Uni "who do not want to stay on the battlefront voluntarily to organize a return to the barracks from which they were originally sent."

The Presidency of the smallest Yugoslav republic said that it had made the decision after the Yugoslav Army leadership failed to respond affirmatively to a demand for the two Army units' return home.